Extra Copy in 61-7559-4997

APRIL, 1935

Copy C

THE COMMUNIST

SF. 100-22432
1/28/47
DHS

Forge a Mighty United Front for May Day!
Manifesto of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A.

•

Our Tasks in the Light of Changed Conditions
MORRIS CHILDS

•

Development of Work in the Harlem Section
JAMES W. FORD and LOUIS SASS

•

The Meaning of Sidney Hook — L. RUDAS

•

Religion and Communism — EARL BROWDER

•

Manifesto of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTERNATIONAL

The Only Popular Introduction

POLITICAL ECONOMY

By A. LEONTIEV

This is the only popular beginner's course in Marxian economics which covers the whole range of political economy.

Commodity production, classes, value, capitalist exploitation, wages and the increasing misery of the working class, crises, imperialism—these basic features of contemporary civilization are presented simply and concisely by a foremost Marxist economist. His book is adapted for self study or class room.

285 pp. *$1.25*

The Standard Work

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

By R. PALME DUTT

•

The third, revised edition has given the author the opportunity to make important additions to his study of "the organization of social decay."

•

320 pp. NOW $1.25

Ready in April

TWO TACTICS of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution

By V. I. LENIN

The basic guide to the policy of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism.

Little Lenin Library, Vol. 22

30 CENTS

•

VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT

By KARL MARX

With an introduction by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute.

15 CENTS

•

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE
COMMUNIST

A Magazine of the Theory and Practice of Marxism-Leninism

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Vol. XIV APRIL, 1935 No. 4

CONTENTS

FORGE A MIGHTY UNITED FRONT FOR MAY DAY! 291
(Manifesto of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A.)

OUR TASKS IN THE LIGHT OF CHANGED CONDITIONS 299
By MORRIS CHILDS

DEVELOPMENT OF WORK IN THE HARLEM SECTION 312
By JAMES W. FORD *and* LOUIS SASS

THE MEANING OF SIDNEY HOOK 326
By L. RUDAS

RELIGION AND COMMUNISM 350
By EARL BROWDER

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 366

BOOK REVIEW 381

Entered as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Make all checks, money orders, and correspondence to THE COMMUNIST, P.O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 E. 13th St.), New York. Subscription rate $2 a year; $1 for six months; foreign and Canada $2.50 a year. Single copies 20c.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Beginning with Issue No. 5

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

will appear in a new format

6 BY 9 INCHES

(Same page size as *The Communist*)

separate cover printed in two colors

●

The application of Marxism-Leninism to present-day problems and events is brilliantly charted in this organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, published twice a month. Written by leaders of the revolutionary movement throughout the world, the articles in this magazine represent a further unfolding of working-class theory and tactics arising out of new developments and changing situations.

The new, improved form of the magazine can be used as a means of increasing sales of *The Communist International.*

●

Price . . 10 cents a copy

Subscription: $2.00 a year

●

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forge a Mighty United Front for May Day!

MANIFESTO OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, C.P.U.S.A.

Against the Wall Street N.R.A. Program of Hunger, Fascist Reaction and War!

Down Tools, Turn Out Into the Streets and Demonstrate on May First!

TO ALL WORKERS, TO THE LABORING MASSES:

On May Day, 1935, the sixth year of the crisis that capitalism tries to solve at the expense of the working people, the demand for a fighting united front of the whole working class is more insistent than ever in American Labor history.

The first of May, the International Day of the working class, is the day above all others, when the workers unite in a world-encircling battlefront against their robber rulers. On this day we renew our pledge to carry on the world struggle for freedom from exploitation, from wage slavery, from capitalist tyranny.

In the United States, where the First of May was initiated, in connection with the fight for the eight-hour day in 1884-6, as a day of united struggle of the whole working class, the splendid revolutionary American traditions stand out in sharp relief against reaction fostered by monopoly capital and its fascist agents.

On May Day, the American working class revives the revolutionary traditions of the workers and farmers who fought and fell in the war for independence from the British monarchy. On this day we pay our revolutionary tribute to the hundreds of thousands of workers and farmers, Negro and white, who gave their lives in the Civil War to destroy the system of chattel slavery.

The American revolutionary traditions have been enriched by the heroic struggles of the working class, by the fighting Molly Maguires who kept unionism alive in the Pennsylvania coal pits in the face of the ruthless terror of the bosses which aimed at rooting out all traces of unionism; by the stubborn battles of the steel and railway workers, against the army and the military forces in the '70's; by the courageous struggles and the heroic death of Parsons, Spies, and all the other Chicago Haymarket victims of a capitalism frenzied in the face of the nation-wide eight-hour movement; by the great

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

struggles led by the Western Federation of Miners; by the struggle for the liberation of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone; by the revolutionary stand of Debs, Ruthenberg and the Left-Wing Socialists against the World War; by the mass strikes in metal, mining and lumber industries during the war, led by the I.W.W. and class conscious A. F. of L. members; by the great steel strike of 1919 led by Wm. Z. Foster, now chairman of the Communist Party; by the magnificent General Strike in Seattle in 1919; by the sweeping movements in behalf of Sacco-Vanzetti; Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro boys; by the militant mass unemployed demonstrations on March 6, 1930, and the succeeding struggles of the unemployed for relief and unemployment insurance; by the life-and-death struggles of Negro workers and sharecroppers against employers and landlords, and their lynch gangs.

These are the fighting traditions of the American working class which have come to life in the great strike wave of last year, the inspiring struggles in Toledo, of the marine workers on the Pacific Coast and in the General Strike in San Francisco, of the great Textile General Strike. The Communist Party, the living embodiment of all that is best in these traditions, calls upon all workers and laboring masses on the basis of these traditions to forge in the preparations for May Day a mighty united front of struggle against the attacks of the robber class on their standards of living and political rights.

Today the American working class, every section of it, is facing the most vicious drive in history against its wages, living standards, and political rights. The whole working class faces rising fascist reaction, fostered by Wall Street and its government.

Under the N.R.A. more than 45 per cent of the industrial workers have been forced into company unions—the most sinister sign of fascist reaction in America today. The right of the workers to organize in genuine unions is challenged everywhere by the employers, and by the full force of the federal government. A new series of sweeping injunctions, Labor Board rulings, and Presidential decrees threaten the very existence of the trade unions. In the last year, 51 workers have been murdered and thousands clubbed and gassed on picket lines by troops, police and "vigilante" bands.

The main task for May Day, 1935, thus stands out with crystal clearness. It is the unification of all forces of the labor and revolutionary movement *in action* against the starvation living standard set by Roosevelt, for higher wages and shorter hours; against company unionism, for the right to organize, strike and picket.

Workers, unite to fight for these basic rights!

Build a fighting United Front in the unions, in the factories,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

offices and stores! Smash the company union drive! Defeat the injunctions by mass violations! Unite to build and safeguard the existence of genuine fighting unions!

The Roosevelt-N.R.A. "Security" program means starvation for the millions of unemployed. Sixteen million unemployed!—the result of more than five years of crisis and of the N.R.A.! These millions and their dependents are forced to live at starvation level. Unite to force the passage of H.R. 2827—the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age and Social Insurance Bill!

Under the N.R.A., as an essential part of the drive against the working class, there has been introduced in Congress and various state legislatures a new series of anti-working-class repressive measures. The anti-alien, deportation, sedition and criminal syndicalist laws are used more than ever before to terrorize foreign-born and native workers, and disrupt their organizations—to break strikes. Hundreds of workers have been given prison sentences for labor activity.

The Communist Party, the vanguard of the working class in the fight against hunger, fascism and war, the leading force in the struggle for the united front against starvation wages and relief, has been made the special target of fascist attacks. The spokesmen and the press of Wall Street monopoly capital, of fascist reaction, are demanding the outlawing of the Communist Party. This is part of the drive for the open shop, for the suppression of all genuine workers' organizations, especially the unions, for the destruction of all democratic rights.

The Hearst press is spreading its fascist poison like a pestilence throughout the land, aiding and abetting the fascist demagogues, Coughlin, Huey Long, and the entire fascization program of the Roosevelt New Deal. Behind the screen of democratic phrases, Hearst, Matthew Woll, Coughlin, Huey Long and their ilk, advocate for America the program of Hitler and Mussolini. Back of them stand Wall Street and its various organizations—the Bankers' Association, the National Manufacturers' Association, the National Chamber of Commerce, etc., etc.

Workers, unite for struggle against fascist reaction!—in whatever form it appears! Unite for the repeal and defeat of all existing and proposed anti-labor repressive laws! Defend the foreign-born workers! Defend all democratic rights of the working class! Unite and defend the working class organizations! Defend the Communist Party! Unite to free Tom Mooney and all class-war prisoners!

Under the N.R.A. a new campaign of lynch terror, and of special "legal" suppression is carried on against the Negro people,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

especially in the South. New efforts are made by the government, by Wall Street and its hangers-on, like the top-officialdom of the A. F. of L., a section of the Socialist Party leadership, the reformist leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to widen the breach between white and Negro workers. Unite in the struggle for Negro rights and the liberation of the Negro people! Abolish discrimination against Negroes in the unions and industries! Fight for the release of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon!

Workers, the time has come for a decisive break with the political parties of monopoly capitalism, the Democratic and Republican Parties. Build an anti-capitalist mass Labor Party to extend and strengthen the fighting united front of all working people through independent working class political action against monopoly capital; to aid in the organization of a powerful trade-union movement in which capitalist party politicians shall have no place; to be a central rallying point in the unification of the American working class for effective struggle against the Roosevelt-Wall Street N.R.A. program of hunger, fascist reaction and imperialist war. Break with the political parties of our class enemies! Unite in an anti-capitalist mass Labor Party!

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration is further ruining the already impoverished farmers, forcing them into peasantry, or into the ranks of the unemployed in the city. With millions of unemployed subsisting on starvation rations, government officials declare that two to three million farmers are no longer needed. The government exploited the drought to destroy the livestock and farm business of the small farmers. Cotton croppers are being "plowed under", and driven into forced labor and more terrible peonage. The farm hands and rural workers get starvation wages and are working under unendurable unsanitary conditions. They are denied even the few rights which the industrial workers have won. Their strikes are suppressed with even greater brutality than the strikes of the industrial workers. Unemployment is rife among them, and the relief extended to them is entirely inadequate.

Unite to force the repeal of the A.A.A.! Fight the forced reduction and destruction program of the New Deal! Fight the subsistence farming program! Unite to force the enactment of the Farmers' Emergency Relief Bill, H.R. 3471! Fight the Bankhead Gin Tax! Force the cancellation of the mortgage, land and tax debts of the small and middle farmers! Fight against evictions and forced sales—for cash relief and long-term production credit without interest for the toiling farmers! Unite and fight for the abolition of the white landlord store system in the South!

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unite and fight for the right of the agricultural workers to organize, strike and picket!

A whole generation of youth is denied the right to work and live. Under the N.R.A. young workers and women workers are more exploited and discriminated against than ever before. Women workers are discriminated against in the wage provision of the codes. Young workers are discriminated against in the payment of wages, through the apprentice clause of the N.R.A. codes. Youth are everywhere denied relief payment and work relief jobs. School retrenchment programs keep millions out of classes. Under the N.R.A. three-quarters of a million youth are forced into army-controlled C.C.C. camps, with their enforced military training. A whole barrage of propaganda has been released to win the youth for fascism. Bills are being introduced in state legislatures aiming to turn the schools into fascist barracks, forcing upon students jingoistic patriotism and military training. Directly and indirectly the government is attempting to centralize the control of all youth organizations behind its reactionary program.

Workers, unite to secure the special demands for women and young workers! Fight against the fascization of the youth! Fight for jobs and relief for the unemployed young workers!

Under the N.R.A. the World War veterans have been deceived and double-crossed. Fight for the immediate payment of the bonus!

Roosevelt's gigantic military and naval budget has astounded the world. More than one billion dollars has already been appropriated in 1935. It is the largest "peace" war budget of all time! It shows that monopoly capital and its government have chosen war as the way out of the crisis—that they intend to infuse strength into decaying capitalism through the blood of millions of workers and farmers. The C.C.C. camps are part of the military set-up. So is the Roosevelt plan for forced labor on public works. So is the $50 per month Roosevelt "Security" wage which brings workers' wages close to and even below the army scale. Unite to defeat the war program! Support the united front organization, the American League Against War and Fascism! Fight for the transferring of all war appropriations to unemployment relief and insurance funds.

Against the background of the decline and decay of capitalism, the historic achievements of the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union in Socialist construction stand out in bold relief. The victories of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union are victories in the struggle of the new Socialist world against the decaying capitalist world. The Soviet Union is the inspiration of the workers and toiling farmers the world over. All the more intense therefore is the hatred of the capitalists for the Soviet Union. The threat of a new

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war against the Soviet Union is now real and immediate. The lying and provocative assaults on the Soviet Union by the Hearst press in agreement with Hitler, the attacks by the Roosevelt administration and the State Department are followed by the demand from representatives of clerical and fascist reaction for the breaking off of diplomatic relations. These war-like provocations coincide with the march of Japanese imperialism toward the Soviet frontiers, and with the new war-like activities of German-Polish fascism against the Soviet Union. In this campaign, the A. F. of L. top-bureaucracy, leaders of the Socialist Party, counterfeit liberals, Lovestoneite renegades from Communism, and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite-Musteite outfit join forces with Hearst and all enemies of the American working class.

Workers and toiling farmers, unite to repel these attacks on the Socialist fatherland of the world working class! In this struggle the defense of the most basic interests of all working people is at stake! Unite in defense of the Soviet Union against all enemies!

The Cuban people are waging mighty struggles against the regime of terror imposed by Wall Street's lackey government of Mendieta. The trade unions have been suppressed and their leaders forced into hiding. The developing Cuban revolution aims at the national emancipation of Cuba from the yoke of American imperialism. The American laboring masses must raise higher and higher the banner of international solidarity with the oppressed people of Cuba, against the oppression and intervention of American imperialism. Support the revolutionary struggles of the Cuban people! Stop the shipment of munitions to Cuba! Demand the withdrawal of Ambassador Cafferey!

On May Day, 1935, the sixth year of the crisis, the bankruptcy of capitalism is written in large letters that spell decline and decay. The new exactions of monopoly capitalism in crisis press with intolerable weight upon employed and unemployed alike. Our task is to organize and unite the entire working class, and around it the impoverished farmers and middle classes, the oppressed professionals and small traders, to resist the daily attacks upon our living standards and working conditions, on the unions and other workers' organizations and upon workers' democratic rights. In these struggles, the working class and its allies are equipped for the overthrow of capitalism with its permanent mass unemployment, mass want and destitution—and its continuous war for profit.

Workers, unite for these vital battles in defense of your daily needs! Prepare the way for power—for a workers' and farmers' government in the United States! For the only true democracy—the democracy of the working class—the dictatorship of the prole-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tariat, against the dictatorship of monopoly capital and the horrors of fascism—for a Soviet America! This is the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the *only* way out of the crisis that does not lead to surrender and defeat, to ever-worse slavery for all working people, but instead leads to victory of a united working class over all its enemies. Workers, Negro and white, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, native and foreign-born, Communist and Socialist, Democrat and Republican! White collar workers! Exploited farmers! This is a call for united action in the life-and-death struggle for the right to work and live.

Build the united front in the unions, factories and shops, mills and mines, in railway and marine transports, in offices and stores, in city and country! Down tools on May Day! Turn out into the streets! Strike and demonstrate in a mighty working class united front against the Roosevelt N.R.A. program of hunger, fascism and war!

Unite for May Day—for the right to organize and strike! For higher wages and shorter hours, against speed-up and stretch-out! For fighting unions and the union shop! Against company unions and the open-shop! For industrial unions! Unite to abolish anti-labor injunctions, to defeat injunctions by mass violation! Unite to build an anti-capitalist mass labor party!

Unite to force the enactment of the Workers' Unemployment, Old Age, and Social Insurance Bill, H.R. 2827! Unite against all anti-working class laws! Unite to defeat and repeal all laws against foreign-born workers! Unite to repeal all criminal syndicalism and sedition laws used against the workers! Unite to free Tom Mooney and all class-war prisoners! Secure the right of free speech, free assemblage and free press! Unite to defend the democratic rights of working people and their organizations! Defend the Communist Party and all organizations of the working class.

Unite in the struggle against lynch and murder terror and all discrimination against Negroes! Unite for the immediate release of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon! Unite in support of the liberation struggles of the Negro people!

Unite to win jobs and relief for the youth! Fight the militarization of the C.C.C. camps. For equal pay for equal work for youth and adult, women and men! Fight against the fascization of the youth!

Fight for the passage of the Farmers Emergency Relief Bill, H.R. 3471! Against eviction and forced sales! For the cancellation of the mortgage, rent and tax debts of the small and middle farmers!

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unite and fight for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, Rakosi, Pena, and all anti-fascist prisoners!

Unite to defend the Socialist Fatherland—the Soviet Union! Hands off China! Defend the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Revolution! Hands off Cuba! Unite for the revolutionary way out of the crisis! For the Workers' and Farmers' Government! For a Soviet America, for working class democracy!

Organize the united front to carry out this program in the unions, factories, mills, mines, in railway and marine transport, in offices and stores, in city and country!

Join the Communist Party—the revolutionary party of the American working class! Organize the mass united front against Hunger, Fascism and War.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Tasks in the Light of Changed Conditions

By MORRIS CHILDS

THE resolution of the January 15-18 Plenum of the Central Committee opens with the statement: "Profound changes have taken place in the U.S.A. in the recent period." Our policies and tactics on the trade-union question, the united front, and the Labor Party correspond to these changed conditions. The enemies of the Communist Party, particularly the Lovestoneite renegades from Communism and the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites, attempt to deny the growing class consciousness and the Leftward upsurge among the masses. They, like all other apologists of the bourgeoisie, claim that history moves only in circles, continually repeating itself. The Lovestoneites cry that there is "nothing new" in the matter of the Labor Party: "We were for a Labor Party seven years ago, a year ago, and now." The Trotskyites offer their very "profound" contribution on this vital political question with the statement that "a labor party can only be an instrument of reform". Thus, with a phrase, they dismiss the possibility of involving the American working class in the struggle against capitalism through independent political action by means of a mass anti-capitalist Labor Party.

These enemies of the working class refuse to recognize the fact that the world has changed its face during the last six years. Our tasks and most important problems must be solved under different conditions, in a period different from that of six or seven, or even two, years ago, when the "New Deal" was first ushered in. Today even the relative stabilization of capitalism is shattered. The maturing idea of "storming capitalism" has led, in a number of countries, to open clashes between the forces of the working class and those of capitalism. The slogan of Soviet Power came to the fore in many of these battles. The growth of fascism and the danger of war as well as the crisis in the ranks of Social-Democracy * have created a burning desire among the masses of the proletariat for a united front of struggle.

* Even the reactionary S.P. Old Guardist James Oneal had to admit recently of his party: "It is obvious that the Party is drifting to some catastrophe which any changes in the declaration will not avert."

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the United States, during 1934, we witnessed a wave of strikes unprecedented in modern history. These strikes, steadily developing to higher stages of class conflict, drew in wide masses of toilers, even those not directly involved. In many cases growing into actions of solidarity where the whole working class population united in struggle against the employing class, as in the San Francisco General Strike.

INTENSIFICATION OF WORK IN THE A. F. OF L.

The Eighth Convention of our Party gave a correct estimate of our work in the trade unions. The Convention marked the beginning of our intensified work in the American Federation of Labor. The two Central Committee Plenums of July and September, 1934, analyzed more concretely our achievements and shortcomings in relation to our general activity in the A. F. of L., especially the role of the Party in the strike struggles. At the time of the Eighth Convention of our Party we compared the number of strikes led by the revolutionary unions with those led by the A. F. of L. It was correct to make such comparisons at that time. We must still continue to make comparisons, even though our chief and central trade union task is work in the A. F. of L. Our Communist activity in the American Federation of Labor will be measured by the degree of leadership we give to such struggles, the number of strikes and independent struggles that we initiate, even over the heads of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE N.R.A. AND THE CHANGED TACTICS OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The recent policies of Roosevelt, the reorganization of the N.R.A., the more open attacks against the working class by the New Deal administration, influence the tactics of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. William Green and other labor leaders no longer talk of the N.R.A. and Section 7A as the "Magna Charta" of labor. New conditions and a growing disillusionment with the N.R.A. force the bureaucracy to use other methods.

In the early days of the N.R.A. the A. F. of L. organization campaign was carried on under the banner of Section 7A. At that time the bureaucrats would say they wanted the workers to vote in order to determine the union they preferred in a particular factory or industry. For William Green to place the problem in the same old way would be useless, as the workers no longer would take it seriously. Even Mr. Biddle, chairman of the N.R.A. Labor Board, stated upon the introduction of Richberg's proposals for the reorganization of the N.R.A. that "Section 7A is unenforceable"

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and that "not much is being done now on the enforcement of labor law".

At the present time the question of voting is raised somewhat differently. Although the bureaucrats have not openly endorsed the strike "truce" of Roosevelt, they nevertheless work overtime to head off the strike struggles of the workers. The maneuvers of Wm. Green in the automobile situation may tend to mislead some workers into believing that he has turned radical, that he is actually mobilizing the workers for strike. However, the exploiting class knows different.

Business Week of February 9, 1935, in an article entitled, "Labor Breaks With New Deal", says:

> "Labor organization work has ceased to ride on the momentum of the passage of the N.I.R.A.'s Section 7A—worse than that, it was definitely losing out because leaders had promised on the strength of 7A more than they could deliver.
>
> "On the other side of the picture where Mr. Green is to be seen in a dress suit holding conferences with the 'big guys' in Washington, there is also a shadow. He and his associates seem likewise to have promised the 'big guys' more than they could deliver."

And further

> ". . . the A. F. of L. has reached the point where it seems better politics to advertise direct action than to publicize its intimate connections with the New Deal and with the President who is interested in the long run, whereas the Federation wants the profitable excitement of short sprints. *Less than a year ago when the rank and file of union members in the steel industry were hell-bent for trouble, the alliance with Washington still seemed so fair that Mr. Green could use its promise to talk down the threatened strike vote. Today when the rank and file cries 'raw deal' it's smarter to shout with them.* [My emphasis—M.C.]
>
> "Tomorrow, of course, Mr. Roosevelt's smile may again make Mr Green gurgle, but the tone of the boys who pay the dues will be diverted to organization meetings now starting in the motor cities, and the strike threats, and the legislative demands that will provide the fireworks which Washington withheld."

How well the masters know their lackeys! The labor bureaucracy executes all kinds of maneuvers because of the discontent expressed by the workers, because of their impatience and their disillusionment with the New Deal. William Green, fearing that the automobile situation will get out of hand and actually culminate in a strike, has taken organizational measures to guarantee that there shall be no strike without his sanction. At the present time the United Automobile Workers locals have been asked to sign written affidavits turning over to him all power of negotiation. Together with these instructions William Green has launched a new attack

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the militant workers and Communists who oppose his policies of betrayal.

The strike sentiment among the working class is still very strong. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy, when it cannot break down this spirit, calls for a strike vote; but even before the vote is completed or the ballots are counted, announces that the workers have voted against the strike. We have had numerous such experiences in the Wisconsin District.

In order to stop the Leftward drift of the working class, the employers are sometimes compelled to deal with the unions and even consent to sign an agreement with the A. F. of L. but what kind of agreements do they sign? Although the workers originally demand a closed shop and union recognition, the leadership agrees to a "modified" form of recognition and to the insertion of a clause which gives the employers permission to deal with "any group". This leaves the door open for company unions when necessary. This example is not a generalization; many recent A. F. of L. agreements are so worded and signed. An outstanding example is the agreement between the A. F. of L. and the A. O. Smith Corporation in Milwaukee, where more than 5,000 workers are employed. This agreement completely ignores the economic needs and demands of the workers; instead, a clause is incorporated which reads as follows: "if, *in the opinion of the management*, in view of better economic conditions, at any future time while this agreement is in effect, increases can be made over and above the rates now in effect, such increases will be made".

This is a common type of agreement that the bureaucracy now resorts to in order to demoralize the struggles of the organized working class.

WE MUST DEVELOP STRIKE STRUGGLES TO HIGHER LEVEL

What can the Communists do to change this situation and to win the workers away from the bureaucracy? In the call for the auto strike, William Green has completely ignored the economic demands. It is therefore necessary that we raise such demands. In some sections of the country it is possible at this time to raise the strikes to a higher level, and to unfold their political content from the start.

During the first period of the N.R.A. we witnessed strikes for the enforcement of the code provisions; but later, as the masses learned through bitter experience the real meaning of the N.R.A., strike struggles developed *against* the labor provisions in the codes.

The majority of workers in the auto industry in Wisconsin are organized into the A. F. of L. These workers resent the interfer-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence of the Auto Labor Board and would be ready to strike in the event that this Board ordered an election as they did in Detroit and other centers. It is the task of the Communists to place this problem clearly in order to develop the consciousness of the workers with regard to the N.R.A. Thus, while arising from economic demands, the strike would from the beginning assume a political aspect involving resistence, not only to the attacks of the employers, but to the agencies of the government and the N.R.A. The conditions for the realization of such strikes are ripening day by day.

HOW TO EXTEND RANK-AND-FILE MOVEMENT IN LOCAL UNIONS

To prepare for the coming battles we should learn from past strike struggles. The following example of a strike in which the Communists actively participated can be utilized as an experience in the fight against the bureaucracy and in putting into life the trade union policies of the Party as contained in the January C.C. resolution. The Boston Store in Milwaukee was the first department store strike to take place in this country. This strike involved clerks, maintenance men, and teamsters. The clerks assume importance in this case because they are a new category of workers to be involved in open class conflict. This group in the past considered itself above the ordinary proletariat. The Communists organized around them a rank-and-file group which met frequently and quite openly. This group was not called an "opposition"—a bad term to use when fighting for the leadership in the trade unions. This rank-and-file adopted certain demands and raised them on the floor of the union, often succeeding in getting the support of the majority. Even when these demands were defeated because of the opposition on the part of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, the rank and file continued to act over the heads of the bureaucrats. Obviously, if the Boston Store strike was to be won, it had to be broadened—other categories of workers and other stores had to be involved. The leadership took no steps in this direction. Therefore the rank and file issued a statement in its own name and circulated it among the workers. The statement created such an impression among the workers that the officials were compelled to recognize it and even agree to give the mailing list to the rank and file in order to reach other workers. This appeal, while stressing the necessity of broadening the strike, also criticized the bureaucracy in the following way:

> "You may argue that our officials are too weak-kneed. You may say that we should have had a complete shutdown of the Boston Store. You may argue that we should have brought you and all other department store workers, out with us. But the only way to answer these arguments is for you to join the union, sign up every member in your department and attend every meeting. Then watch

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> us grow! Then you can add your voice to the growing strength of the rank-and-file members who are battling for militant tactics both inside the union and outside."

On the basis of this kind of work the Communists and other militant workers were not just in opposition. The workers saw that this group actually strove to improve working conditions and win the strike. When the rank and file introduced a motion to mobilize workers of other crafts for the picket line, they were the ones to take the lead in organizing and leading the flying squadrons that were to carry out these tasks. Because of the proper leadership and work in the strike, the Communists were able to form a united front with the non-party workers as well as with some rank-and-file Socialists who not only participated on the picket line but joined the rank-and-file group. Some of these Socialist workers took the floor at union meetings and carried on a struggle against their own "comrades" personified in the bureaucracy. When the last elections in this union were held, the slate of candidates proposed by the rank and file, numbering about 20, included many Socialist workers.

The Socialist Party Executive, at its Boston meeting last December, in opposing the united front with the Communists, urged a united front with the A. F. of L. The S.P. leadership argued that there was more to be gained from such a united front than from common action with the Communists. What they meant, of course, was a united front with William Green and other labor bureaucrats. We can answer this argument of the S.P. Executive very effectively, as we have done in practice many times, by uniting with the Socialist workers on the picket line and fighting for the improvement of conditions. Such activity gives the lie to the charge of the Socialist leadership that the Communists are only "disrupters". It is this experience during the Boston Store strike that brought Socialists into the rank-and-file group and spread the influence of the Communists. In the City of Kenosha the reactionaries wanted to exclude a number of militant workers from the Central Trades Council on the ground that they were Communists. The united front between these militants, including Communists, Socialists, as well as other delegates, was responsible for the defeat of the reactionaries and helped to arouse the labor movement of that city. The united front in the A. F. of L. assumes the greatest importance at this time.

COMMUNISTS CAN TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN BUILDING A. F. OF L. UNIONS

Another aspect of our trade union work is the question of when to build unions of the American Federation of Labor. In District

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

18 we have difficulties in convincing some comrades that it was necessary for us to initiate building of A. F. of L. unions, especially the organization of federal locals in some big factories. That this line is proving correct is shown by the highly promising results. This will also place the Communists in a very strategic position in the local leadership. It can, at the start, assure the trade unions a leadership that believes in a policy of class struggle as against class collaboration.

Some comrades insist that if revolutionary unions are not organized, perhaps an independent union should be set up, as an intermediary step, before bringing the workers into the A. F. of L. We cannot be too mechanical in approaching the problem. In the Milwaukee District, for example, one must never lose sight of the influence of the Socialist Party and the fact that it controls the American Federation of Labor from its highest to some of its lowest offices. In a situation where the majority of the organized working class is in the A. F. of L. in the most important industries and some of the most important factories, Communists must be careful not to isolate themselves from this main stream of the labor movement. On the other hand, it is necessary to be flexible as regards this question.

We had an example where workers employed by the Telephone Company wished to organize. At the present time they are forced to belong to a company union. Some workers joined the A. F. of L., while the majority held back because of past experiences that had aroused in them a mistrust of some local labor bureaucrats, particularly those in the electrical unions. These same workers were not ready to join a revolutionary union. If the workers insist on forming an independent union, it would not be a wrong step. At a later time, or even now, we can raise the slogan of trade union unity, and when these workers become convinced they will merge with the A. F. of L.

THE UNITED FRONT

The question of the united front cannot be separated from the trade-union question. Our link with the rank and file of the A. F. of L. and S.P. is very important for the establishment of the united front. On Armistice Day a large anti-war demonstration was organized in Milwaukee, involving about 10,000 workers: Socialist, A. F. of L., and Communist. When the meeting to organize this demonstration was called, the Communists were deliberately not invited by the S.P. leadership. The Communist Party sent representatives to the meeting, however, and in the course of the conference succeeded in winning over the rank and file of the Socialist Party

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to a point where they included the Communists on the leading arrangement committees. Communist participation in this meeting changed the character of the demonstration from what would have been a pacifist get-together into a militant anti-war and anti-fascist demonstration. It was this united front action that for the first time in years convinced many Socialist workers that the Communists are fighters and organizers in the interests of the working class. The state conference of the American League Against War and Fascism held last December was another step in the direction of the united front. The greatest bloc of delegates was from A. F. of L. trade unions, representing 40,000 workers. There were also 27 Socialists, among them many influential members of the S.P. The Socialist delegates signed an open declaration appealing for the united front.

Had we not worked from below, visiting local unions, raising the question of war and fascism on the floor of the Federated Trades Council, issuing leaflets, etc., the united front would not have advanced. We all know that the Socialist mayor, Dan Hoan, opposes the united front. He has very often made statements to the effect that "in the U.S. we do not face the danger of war", that "fascism is a remote idea because our democratic institutions will not permit it". Yet Dan Hoan, because of mass pressure, was compelled to speak and participate at a demonstration jointly with Communists. The Milwaukee County Central Committee of the Socialist Party has on numerous occasions passed motions threatening expulsions for participation in united fronts of any kind. Yet, Socialists continue to participate in united front activities. At the present time it is necessary to work with all the greater energy for a united May Day demonstration. The Socialist leadership is already carrying through all kinds of maneuvers to split the ranks of the workers. In the past years the S.P. in Milwaukee celebrated May Day in true Social-Democratic fashion—on the first Sunday after May Day, but this year, in order to head off the movement for a joint united demonstration, it is planning a separate demonstration on May First. The urge for the united front is very powerful and is spreading. It is necessary to reach the masses and to convince them that these splitting tactics of the S.P. leadership must be defeated in the interests of the working class.

Some good Socialist comrades who have participated in many united front actions with Communists are sometimes hesitant, because they do not want to "violate the discipline" of their party. It is necessary to remind these comrades of the time when the German Social-Democrats voted for war credits. It was the pretext of "discipline" that caused many Left members of the Reichstag fraction to surrender to the Rights and social-chauvinists and endorse

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the war credits upon the outbreak of war. Discipline is not an abstract thing that can be separated from the class struggle. If the enforced discipline is detrimental to the interests of the working class, if the Socialist leadership uses it to prevent the united front of the working class, the membership must become aware of this and act accordingly.

The united front actions that have taken place in Milwaukee must be considered only as steps towards the united front. These united front actions have lasted only a short while, and have not yet crystallized into a united front extending over a long period of time. The task is to develop these actions and to broaden them.

THE LABOR PARTY

The question of the Labor Party is linked up with the problem of the trade unions and that of the united front. The S.P. executive meeting in Boston raised, not only the question of uniting with the labor bureaucracy, but elected a committee to take steps for reaching an understanding or agreement between the S.P., the LaFollette Progressives, Sinclair, Olson, etc. In Milwaukee there was a heated debate on this problem immediately after its announcement. Some branches of the S.P. held discussions on the topic, "Should We Unite With the LaFollette Progressives"? Some Socialist leaders pointed to certain advantages that would come with such unity. The Socialist Party in Milwaukee controls the administration; therefore, these politicians calculate things from quite a material point of view. When they speak of unity with LaFollette and the gains that would come, they think in terms of jobs, political favors, etc. There was another question raised, from the rank and file of the S.P. They asked, "If we join up with the Progressives would this not give us a wider base and we could approach people that are at the present time against Socialists"? When this question was asked, all we could answer was that it would be far better for the Communists and Socialists to unite on the basis of some immediate demands instead of compromising the last pretense of independent political action of the working class. We stated, further, that such a united front of Communists and Socialists would draw the Progressive workers and farmers with us and that together we could fight against the bourgeoisie represented by LaFollette. At the present time we can answer much more concretely on the basis of the Central Committee resolution.

THE LAFOLLETTE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IS NOT A LABOR PARTY

The Progressive Party of LaFollette is only about nine months old. When that party was formed there was quite a struggle on the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

floor of the convention between the labor elements and the LaFollettes. The trade-union element insisted upon a labor party of some kind, while the LaFollette brothers insisted that a class party was out of order under American conditions. When the question of name was discussed, more than 50 delegates, chiefly from the trade unions, voted for the name "Labor Party" or "Farmer-Labor Party" as against the name Progressive. When the convention of the Progressive Party was over, in May, 1934, the secretary of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, John Handley, made an open statement in the press, expressing disagreement and disappointment with LaFollette and the Progressive Party. The hope that a Labor Party would be organized by this convention was shattered. The 1934 report of the General Executive Board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, adopted at the forty-second annual convention, states the following on this question.

> "While negotiations between state labor and farmer representatives were still in progress, the Progressives called a convention under their own auspices and adopted the name 'Progressive Party'. While some farmers and individual unionists were invited as representatives, this convention was in no sense a farmer-labor convention, and was not intended to be. There were in attendance many who were present or former office holders, and, while professedly progressive, whose records on labor and farmer measures would hardly bear scrutiny. None of those present who opposed the name Farmer-Labor were authorized to speak for the Wisconsin State Feedration of Labor. Attorney Padway, who was introduced as counsel for the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, nevertheless was not authorized at any time to represent labor on political questions and could only speak as an individual. Secretary J. J. Handley, who was not a delegate to the convention, but was present, took the floor and expressed the true position of the State Federation of Labor."

The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor further condemns both the Progressive and the Socialist Party for their evasive tactics in relation to the Labor Party. This is stated very clearly in the same report:

> "Leaders of both the Progressive and Socialist groups generally gave little or no encouragement to our efforts. For the most part, they were evasive. It was apparent in most cases that they feared the loss of group control and a weakening of their respective leaderships.
>
> "The Progressives, with the sole exception of the 1924 campaign, when the senior LaFollette consented to become the independent candidate for President of the United States, at no time indicated a tendency for independent political action until the stage was set by labor and when labor's representatives were preparing to crystallize the growing sentiment for a new party into action by calling a con-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vention for the purpose of perfecting a new party and when the time for action was made propitious by the tragic breakdown of the capitalist-controlled system."

The Wisconsin Federation of Labor in 1933 as well as in 1934 at its conventions came forward in its resolutions in favor of a labor party. Even within the ranks of the LaFollette Progressive Party there is a group calling itself the "Farmer-Labor League" which has for its objective the establishment of some kind of a labor party with a program as they say: "More radical than the Progressives heretofore entertained, and with the name 'Farmer-Labor Party'."

At that time the Party offered no immediate solution to these questions which bothered the followers of LaFollette and many workers of the A. F. of L. and S.P. The masses in Wisconsin have shown by their vote for the Progressive Party that they are discontented with the old parties. It is true that Senator LaFollette claimed to be a representative of the New Deal. It is also true that Roosevelt came out in favor of the election of LaFollette. But the vote in Wisconsin does not indicate that the masses voted for the New Deal. LaFollette promised them a *a more radical extension of the New Deal* and that is why the masses voted for LaFollette. If the masses just wanted to vote for the New Deal they would have elected Democrats and not have defeated them on a state-wide scale. The trend in Wisconsin was similar to that of many other sections in the United States, particularly in Minnesota and California.

In Wisconsin, the progressive movement is organized into a separate party. This party has state control. There is also the Socialist Party, which has a mass base with an especially great influence in the industrial areas of the state. To raise the labor party slogan in a general way is insufficient. It is necessary to place this problem more concretely. The LaFollette progressives say, "Why a labor party? We are that party". The Socialist leadership, too, says, "We are a recognized party, we have been influential in politics in Milwaukee for over 20 years. We have a regular place on the ballot. We are that labor party." These questions must be answered. They can be answered on the basis of the Central Committee resolution.

THE MASS LABOR PARTY MUST INCLUDE THE COMMUNISTS

It is very important that we point out the difference between a mass Labor Party and the Progressive Party. The LaFollettes deny the class struggle; but the class struggle exists. In fact, the class differentiation within the LaFollette Progressive Party already appeared when that Party was founded. We must popularize point D of the Central Committee resolution which says that we are in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favor of a "labor party built up from below on a trade-union basis but in conflict with the bureaucracy, putting forward a program of demands closely connected with mass struggles, strikes, etc., with the leading role played by the militant elements, including the Communists".

The LaFollette Progressive Party is organized along lines different from those of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota. In the former there is no dues-paying membership and there are no affiliated organizations. The Progressive form of organization is similar to that of the Republican and Democratic Parties. Its organizations in the precincts, wards, and counties are only of a temporary nature, active only at election time. At present, the Progressives are organizing clubs which include workers; but these are not yet of a mass character, although they may be such in the future. the leading committees of the organizations locally and on a statewide scale are in the hands of professional politicians. Therefore, for the present at least, it is out of the question to work inside the Progressive Party. Although the trade unions are not directly affiliated to the Progressive Party, they are, nevertheless, under the influence of LaFollette. At present there is a struggle for leadership between the Progressives and the Socialist Party in the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. This struggle was already in evidence at the time of the last convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor when the convention refused to print William Green's speech endorsing Bob LaFollette.

Many workers have asked: What guarantee have we that when such a Labor Party is formed the Communists will not be excluded from it? We cannot speak of guarantees, but recent experiences in work within the A. F. of L. show that if we are linked with the masses in the trade unions then it is not so easy for the bureaucrats to expel Communists. In Wisconsin during the last eight months the bureaucracy at the instigation of Green attempted to expel from the A. F. of L. at least 20 people in a number of unions; but to this day they have not succeeded in expelling one person. Why? Because the bureaucracy could not gain the support of the rank and file. If the Communists and other militants are entrenched in the trade unions and if the Labor Party is based on these, then the Communists can and will be a part of such a broad movement.

The most important task in Wisconsin, therefore, is to initiate in the trade unions a campaign for a mass Labor Party. These are the first steps to be taken in this direction: We must adopt labor tickets in the local elections, these labor tickets to be based on mass organizations of the workers, particularly and chiefly the trade unions. We must raise the problem of a labor party in the local

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unions, as opposed to the Progressive Party, and get the unions to go on record for a Labor Party built up from below around the program of demands closely linked up with their struggles. We must prepare for the coming Wisconsin Federation of Labor convention and raise this problem for discussion in order to achieve endorsement of a mass Labor Party. The Wisconsin Federation of Labor again voted for a discussion on this question, and their previous decisions can be made use of by the militant elements. Here the Communists will have to take special care to convince the convention and the membership of the A. F. of L. of the type of a Labor Party that should be organized. The winning of the trade unions and masses for a Labor Party would compel the Socialist Party leadership to take a position on this question, since they could not afford to ignore such a movement. When the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor went on record for a Labor Party, the resolution pointed to the need of a party broader and more inclusive than the Socialist Party. Many Socialist workers, especially those in the trade unions, have in the past expressed themselves for a Labor Party.

It is necessary to repeat the statement from the January resolution of the Central Committee:

> "The struggle for the political leadership of the masses who are now breaking away from the Democratic and Republican Parties depends at all its stages on the constant growth and strengthening of the C.P. as an independent revolutionary force for which purpose it is necessary to popularize the Party program to ever broader masses. The chief means to this aim is the bold and energetic development of our work for the united front in all spheres, but above all, in the trade unions, especially those affiliated to the A. F. of L."

Finally, we must stress the building of the Party and the need for recruiting into our ranks the best workers from the shops and trade unions. This will give us the most intimate connection with the masses and will guarantee the carrying through of our tasks before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in a real Communist fashion. The initiative belongs to us.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Development of Work in the Harlem Section

By JAMES W. FORD AND LOUIS SASS

IN REVIEWING the general political and economic situation of the country as it affects our community, we find: (1) Unemployment in Harlem reaching the tremendous figure of from 75 per cent to 85 per cent of the Negro population and to almost the same extent among the Latin-Americans; (2) The growing militancy among the workers in the struggle for unemployment relief and jobs. This struggle at all times took the form of a struggle against discrimination, jim-crow, which the Negro workers as well as Puerto Ricans and other colonials are subjected to. (3) The movements for the immediate economic needs of the masses were, we can safely say, conducted almost entirely by our Party and the organizations under its influence.

Another very significant point that we must here note is the political struggles that developed in the course of the past year. The Scottsboro struggle has reached increasingly higher levels, demonstrations and united front conferences exposing the role of the courts and the government. This struggle took on more and more openly the national liberation character, raising the most fundamental issues of Negro liberation. These political struggles have contributed tremendously to the further radicalization of the masses and the development of class consciousness on a broader scale, as demonstrated by the growing unity of Negro and white workers in the various actions in behalf of the Scottsboro boys, Angelo Herndon, etc.

Because of the tremendous radicalization of the Negro people, and as a result of the advance of our Party and its leadership of the masses, we find that there is not a single political group among the Negro masses today that has not at one time or another made gestures of cooperation towards the Party in order to deceive the masses. During the past year, we have carried on negotiations and actions with almost every group in our community, on a united front basis, not failing to expose the leaders of these groups in order to turn the masses to our program. The reason for these negotiations and actions is obvious if we understand the national liberation character of our work. When we speak of the white Republican and Democratic leaders, we speak of out-and-out reactionaries in most cases. Speak-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing of the Negro leaders of these parties, however, we must speak of them as reformists who, being members of an oppressed nation, are at times forced to attack in words the policies of their party executives in order to retain their leadership over the masses.

The *Amsterdam News*, mouthpiece of one of the most reactionary reformist groups in Harlem, which today is engaged in a vicious attack on our Party and the I.L.D., not long ago offered its pages to us in connection with Scottsboro, Herndon, rent strikes, etc.

The movement of Father Divine, numbering thousands, which can best be illustrated by comparing it to the movement of Aimee McPherson or Billy Sunday, in form, based, however, on the tremendous desire of the masses to find solution to their economic and social problems, has conducted with us several united front demonstrations, against war and fascism and against relief discrimination.

The Urban League, in creating the Workers' Committee, intended to divide the ranks of the workers, by establishing jim-crow labor organizations. Because of the immediate reaction of our Party to the policy of segregation which is typical of Negro reformists, they have not succeeded. They were forced to negotiate and work with us because the workers in the Workers Council immediately saw the correctness of the policy of the Party and revolutionary unions in demanding a unified body of Negro and white workers in the Workers' Council.

The Garvey movement, even the Tiger Division, hailed Communism in the Scottsboro upsurge. Many of its honest rank-and-file members endorsed our Party in the elections and many of them joined our Party.

The Sufi movement which has called for the driving out of all Jews from Harlem, has been forced at times to "flirt" with us because of the movement developed for jobs by our Party, demonstrating the possibility of victory as a result of united struggle of Negro and white workers. The best example of this can be found in the Empire Cafeteria struggle which resulted in the hiring of four Negro workers without the firing of the white workers.

Among the Puerto Ricans, the Republican Torrez has participated in the united front initiated by our movement to end discrimination against Puerto Rican children.

All this emphasizes the national aspects of our work and the growth of the influence of the Party. But, here we must state that these movements have always been on the alert to attack most bitterly and viciously the activity of our Party and mass organizations in order to deliver the masses to their master, the white capitalists. We can further state, that in the course of our contacts with these groups, we have not been successful in thoroughly discrediting them

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and exposing them before the Negro masses. Though at times we have been successful in gaining the upper hand in important struggles (Scottsboro, unemployment, struggles for jobs, etc.), at other times, we were out-maneuvered. As, for example, the well-timed attack of almost all the reformist groups on our Party in connection with the Scottsboro case, just a few days before the elections. At this time the reformist groups were successful in creating confusion among the Negro masses in connection with the withdrawal of Leibowitz from the defense of the Scottsboro boys. This was seized upon by the Negro press, particularly because of the elections, to attack violently the Communists, thereby weakening our strength at the polls. The *Amsterdam News* and all other Negro papers in Harlem, as well as most of the influential papers the country over, sided immediately with Leibowitz and slandered the I.L.D. and the C.P. Certainly, these papers and the reformist preachers reach tens of thousands of Negro workers, and unless their vicious lying propaganda can be immediately counteracted, they inevitably harm the position of our Party in the community; and this is just what happaned. For we were not successful in counteracting the lying propaganda at once, being isolated from the great fraternal organizations of Negro people. We were able to distribute leaflets and we called mass open-air meetings but this was not sufficient, for the Negro reformists were in a position to carry their propaganda inside of the large organizations which have tremendous influence over popular opinion in Harlem. While we dominated the streets in Harlem the reformists dominated the mass organizations, where the most decisive elements of the people are to be found.

A word should be said here about the national responsibilities of our Section. Our Section has well understood that just as the reformists give leadership to the entire country from Harlem, so the revolutionary movement also has to assist in the development of the Negro liberation movement all over the country. Our most important contribution in this respect is the work of Comrade Ford, who, in going to various parts of the country, assists comrades in building the liberation movement by transmitting our experiences.

Secondly, the work of Comrade Ford in the developing of a Negro cadre, in which respect we can proudly point to scores of Negro comrades who have come forward in the past year into leadership in our Section as well as in the District. Whereas we can note advances in creating a Negro cadre, we can also note a great deal of inefficiency, lack of knowledge of the Party, unwillingness to know the difficulties of the basic organ of the Party—the unit. We have yet resistance on the part of a number of leading Negro cadres to doing day-to-day plugging in the Party—the belief that by push-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing a button, the Party can be mobilized and put at their service, etc.

Recently Comrade Ford called a meeting of these leading comrades and outlined to them the difficulties of the Party, the task of a Party member, the building of a solid collective Negro cadre in Harlem, etc. This had a very good effect on our comrades.

These meetings will be continued and we feel confident that we will succeed in further improving and consolidating our leadership, thereby fulfilling one of our most important tasks of creating a general staff in the national liberation movement.

Development of activities in Harlem for financial and other support to the work in the South—the "Sharecroppers Supporting Committee", etc., is also part of fulfilling our national responsibiliies.

Our Section has in its territory a number of important shops, laundries, metal shops, transport repair shops, etc. Thousands of Negro workers employed in restaurants, stores, thousands of Negro needle trades, marine, domestic workers and painters—all living in Harlem. In lower Harlem, there are great numbers of tobacco workers and food workers, etc.

We have been working on the establishment of a trade union center in Harlem. Only lately, in the past months, did we make any progress in this direction by organizing a Trade Union Commission, composed of all the unions and union groups in our section, with Comrade Manning Johnson in charge. At the present time, we have as follows: Tobacco Workers Union, Needle Trades Workers Club in upper Harlem, and in lower Harlem, a Metal Workers Union group, the Workers Council in the Urban League, a group of Food Workers and the Laundry Workers Union; also painters and domestic workers and the transport workers groups. Our section committee has been working together with all of these union groups.

In the case of the tobacco workers, we have helped the Union leadership in every important undertaking.

In the case of the Food Workers Union, our Section was instrumental in organizing the Empire Cafeteria.

We have been trying to work with the Laundry Workers Union. This was very difficult in the past. Now, however, as a result of the Trade Union Commission and the work of Comrade Johnson, we are in very close contact with this union and have been able to help it in overcoming some of the bad tendencies and difficulties in its leadership.

In the Workers Council, one of our chief weaknesses was our inability to get regular and consistent representation at all of the meetings of the Council. Recently we have reopened negotiations

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the Urban League, with the help of the Central Committee (and because of the establishment of the Trade Union Commission), we hope to use the Workers' Council to realize a Harlem Trade Union Center.

One more word here, on the Alteration Painters and the Domestic Workers Union. In a short time our comrades were successful in organizing about one hundred alteration painters and about the same number of domestic workers. Both of these unions have conducted several struggles in the past year, winning better conditions for the workers. In all of these unions we are applying the tactic of orientating towards amalgamation with the A. F. of L.

The most important weakness in our trade union work is the fraction. Fractions are not functioning properly at all in many of the most important unions. Overcoming this very important weakness is one of the major tasks of our Trade Union Commission.

* * * * *

The main strength of the reformists in Harlem lies within the mass organizations, lodges, and churches; and because of the fact that the main part of our activity has been demonstrative, we have not made the necessary advance in these important mass organizations, which was possible because of the objective conditions. Here we have not even scratched the surface. We have fractions only in a few of the mass organizations, and we have made contacts from the outside with a few members of others. The membership that now comes into the Party comes from these organizations; and yet we were not successful in making them realize the importance of remaining and working inside them. This has been clearly shown by the recent Party registration, where a large number of comrades who belong to these organizations did not think it necessary to state so on their registration cards.

We have fractions in the Elks, in two churches, in the Caribbean Union, in the Union Mechanics Association, in the Phi Beta Fraternity, in the Alpha Phi Fraternity and, of course, in the Puerto Rican United Front Against Discrimination. The rapid organization of all our available forces in the most important mass organizations and the directing of our members who are in these organizations to do active opposition work becomes the central task of our fraction department which, of late, does good work, but solely with the fractions in the revolutionary mass organizations.

Now as to the mass organizations built by our movement—*the Unemployment Council.* At the present moment the unemployed movement in Harlem, in spite of shortcomings of the most serious

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nature, has won for itself the position of being foremost in the city, both in regard to dues payments and organizational strength.

During the past year, serious attempts have been made to orientate the organizational set-up properly. To this end, there has been successful establishment of new locals in the spring; there are now ten locals existing over six months in upper Harlem. Dues payments, as measured by purchase of stamps from the City Council and County Council, since September, have been upward, ranging from about three hundred a month to over four hundred in upper Harlem. If it had not been for the holiday season, it is certain that the four hundred level in December would have been more than maintained. New membership books have been purchased since September at a rate of from 110 to 150 per month. The trend in both is upward.

We may say that the regular meetings of the Upper Harlem locals attract about seven hundred workers a month. They have a registered membership of over three thousand.

To overcome the shortcomings, which may be summed up almost in one sentence, as the outgrowth of individualistic leadership, with very incomplete knowledge of the program, we are starting a class for leaders of delegations. This class starts immediately after the Congress. We expect to have over twenty students.

The outstanding thing about upper Harlem is that it functions and improves on the proper organizational set-up which is the basis of locals.

Lower Harlem: Recently, there has been established a Council in lower Harlem. For a very long time there has been one excellent local, the lower West Side Local, led by Martinet. Actually this local should be several locals, since it embraces in its territory about all of Spanish Harlem, west of Fifth Avenue. It has several hundred members and is pretty sound financially. Its greatest shortcoming is lack of collective leadership. In lower Harlem, there are three more locals.

Dues stamps purchased from the Council downtown amount to over two hundred a month, possibly 250. If this figure is added to what Upper Harlem, Washington Heights and the other locals of lower Harlem buy, the Section probably can show dues purchases of over 700 a month.

UNEMPLOYED WORK IN MASS ORGANIZATIONS

The I.L.D. has a functioning unemployed committee which sends almost daily delegations. In the past two and a half months, it has handled three hundred and fifty cases.

In lower Harlem, there are many mass organizations. There could be a local of the Council in all of these. This need is parti-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cularly urgent in the Italian Center. It should no longer be neglected. It will prove to be the missing link needed in Italian work generally, in lower Harlem.

The most important thing is a delegation properly led. Just yesterday, we went down with two cases—both were won. About ten workers who were just there by themselves, asked for the address of our Council in order to join.

However, this is not usually the case. Lately the leaders have not been insisting on immediate answers but accept decisions to come back later. The leaders often push their own cases and place them first on the order. Leaders should have their own cases presented by another member of the delegation. Leaders develop some curious notions, at various times arguing among themselves in the Bureau, thus weakening the effectiveness of their delegation. They also develop in many cases, a procedure of individual negotiations with the officials, in which the workers have no part and in which they frequently leave the delegation to confer with the officials, an extremely legalistic procedure not involving the workers.

There is no follow-up on unsatisfactory replies. There should be a campaign in the neighborhood to build up struggles around refusal to give immediate relief. Too often the leaders make empty threats to the officials such as, "We will be back with thousands later in the day", and then they do not show up at all or with a mere handful. Leaders, instead of trying to keep the workers fighting the main enemy, the administration, frequently develop personal feuds with Home Relief Workers.

We have had in the Unemployment Councils a great deal of difficulties arising out of the undevelopment of our leading forces. Lately we have succeeded in drawing in some new workers, who have displayed exceptional ability to strengthen a collective leadership at the head of the Unemployment Councils.

The task of the Councils must be more than ever the raising of the level of the struggle of the unemployed by putting forth the Unemployment Insurance Bill, by bringing about a united front of all the unemployed organizations in Harlem and playing a role in the creation of a united front of all organizations around the issue of unemployment. The recent United Front Conference of twenty-nine organizations at Abyssinia Baptist Church against discrimination on relief is a very important step in this direction, which, if carefully followed up, will inevitably broaden our unemployment movement and strengthen its influence in our community.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

The I.L.D. in the past year, has been able to take advantage

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Scottsboro struggles, has participated in the struggle for jobs and has figured as an important factor in rent strikes in Harlem. As a result, it has achieved a consolidated leadership and organization; and while we can speak of important weaknesses, such as weak fraction work, not enough attention on the part of the fraction to the campaigns of the Party, etc., nevertheless, we must regard the achievements of the I.L.D. as very significant in strengthening the Negro liberation movement. Our local I.L.D. has now to pay much closer attention to the Scottsboro-Herndon Action Committee, which it has already begun, through delegating from its branches, members to carry out the practical task of the Committee, which is the creation of a united front of all organizations on the issue of the freedom of the Scottsboro boys and Angelo Herndon.

In the Harlem I.L.D. section we have 11 branches—a total membership of 1090, with a solid membership of 850. The composition of our membership is 650 Negro, 440 white. We have a core of about 200 active comrades.

We are now in the process of changing our attitude towards members and methods of work in the direction of greater flexibility. We are now counting as I.L.D. members, all who sign a card, get a book and pay dues. We are organizing visiting committees to bring dues, literature, etc., to absent members and planning branch affairs to bring them out at least once a month.

We have recruited in the past two months, 127 new members; twenty-five per cent more signed cards, were issued books, but did not show up at any branch meetings.

The majority of the Section Committee consists of new I.L.D. members. There is a good representation of white members. Party comrades number less than one-third of these, most are new Party members. The committee, though largely inexperienced, is enthusiastic and willing to work. The chief weakness is lack of political development. Political discussions at each Section Committee meeting is planned to remedy this.

The I.L.D. is now on the road to becoming definitely a real mass organization. It must be noted, however, that in some most important fields of I.L.D. work this section has fallen down completely. It is not involved in the defense of employed workers in their economic struggles. The trade unions, during strikes, have not found the I.L.D. in Harlem to be their defense arm. We do not react to strikes at all. The very important laundry strike in Harlem has found us weak.

It is also true that we have neglected the fact that, just as the Party, the I.L.D. must be rooted in the shops. But we have done nothing in this field of work.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The League of Struggle for Negro Rights is to be the organization that will serve as the main form for the crystallization of the Negro liberation movement. In this organization, our advances are slow. The line was made clear at the Extraordinary Party Conference and has been further clarified at the Eighth National Convention.

At the present time the L.S.N.R. orients itself towards becoming a broad united front council of many fraternal and church organizations in our community. This orientation leads the L.S.N.R. into united front struggles around the immediate issues of the Negro people as well as into struggles around the bill of rights, around the question of defense of civil rights, the Scottsboro case, discrimination on relief, etc. Since this new tactical line has been put forth forcefully by our Party, the L.S.N.R. has definitely gained in influence among some very important Negro organizations (Odd Fellows, Elks, Masons, Father Divine). The numerical strength of the L.S.N.R. is by no means a proper measurement of the influence and activity that it carries on in the community around the issues confronting the Negro people.

We are now concentrating forces of the L.S.N.R. in the Scottsboro-Herndon Action Committee to utilize this committee to build the L.S.N.R. Council, as well as putting forth the entire program of national liberation. The circulation of the *Liberator* varies from 1,000 to 1,200 in Harlem, proving that unless an organization is developed the *Liberator* will not grow as the organ of the national liberation struggles.

* * * * *

Recently our Section Committee took up with the Y.C.L. its outstanding weakness. We have seen as its main weakness its inability to concentrate on the drawing in of young Negro workers in Harlem, and secondly, its inability to activize these workers, principally by giving them absorbing and valuable work. In order to assist the Y.C.L. out of its difficulties, the Party has decided to assign eight comrades to work with the League. Most of these comrades are already working with the Young Liberators. We have spent considerable time with the comrades that we have assigned to the building of this organization, to planning and defining its activities and making it a broad organization of working youth. The result can be seen in the continuous growth of the organization and is an excellent way of building a broad mass Y.C.L. in Harlem. (We want to say here that in spite of the many offers that our Party has made to the League leadership to assign the various comrades to Party committees for training, this is as yet something to be realized.) Our

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Party units are far from being political bodies that react to the problems of the youth. Therefore, the coming issue of our Section newspaper, *The Harlem Organizer*, will be a youth issue. Articles from the units of the Party as well as from the members of the Section Committee, analyzing our weaknesses in building the youth movement in Harlem and urging the Party membership to become conscious of the tremendous importance of building a mass Y.C.L., will be printed.

If our Y.C.L. and Party leadership will energetically follow up this issue of *The Harlem Organizer* by going to some of our units and helping them concentrate on the building of youth organizations and the Y.C.L., results will be obtained.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS

We have at present in the Section eleven Latin-American and Spanish organizations with an approximate membership of 1,500. These organizations are instrumental in reacting to the various events in the Latin-American countries. They have been the most important participants in the demonstrations arranged by our Section in support of the Cuban masses, against plunderers of Yankee imperialism in Puerto Rico and Cuba and in the demonstrations arranged in support of the Spanish Revolution. Though here we can say that our work has been far from satisfactory. With the exception of two mass meetings and a demonstration, we have done very little in support of the Spanish Revolution. Our Spanish organizations have succeeded in establishing the United Front Committee of all Latin-American organizations to fight discrimination against Puerto Rican children. The activity of this committee has been largely responsible for the high vote our candidates received in Harlem's Latin-American section.

Our Section has succeeded, together with the Latin-American organizations in establishing a weekly newspaper, *Unidad Obrera*, about two months ago, which, at the present time, is self-supporting. The only powerful oposition is *La Prensa*. However, the *Unidad Obrera*, if it keeps up its present rate of growth, with the assistance of our Party units and mass organizations, will soon be in a position to measure up to *La Prensa*.

Space does not permit going into a thorough examination of the work among the various other groups. However, we can say that we have excellent relations with all of our mass organizations and language bureaus. We must particularly note the Finns, who have a tremendous political importance in Harlem, being the only large white group right in the heart of Negro Harlem.

Most of our campaigns have already been mentioned in connection

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the various organizations in our Section. Or course, the main campaign of our Section, which is largely responsible for the building of our Section into the largest Section in the city, is the Scottsboro-Herndon campaign. Throughout the report we have referred to this campaign. Therefore, we will not deal with it here. We do want to say a few words on our election campaign, our *Daily Worker* Drive for circulation, the *Daily Worker* Drive for finances.

ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We have increased our vote fully 100 per cent. We led in Manhattan, both in Congressional and Assembly votes. But we have, at the same time, permitted the Negro reformists to deliver a very serious blow to our election results by their maneuvers to discredit our movement on the Scottsboro case just prior to the election date, as explained above. This accounts for the small vote in comparison to our activities, in comparison with the economic and political struggles of the masses during the year, though the increase was nevertheless significant.

DAILY WORKER DRIVE

We have increased our circulation from 500 at the time of the Section Convention to about 4,000 now, per week. We are now planning a conference to launch a new drive, the major task of which is to make every mass organization a reader and builder of the *Daily*. In the Financial Drive, we succeeded in going over our quota of $1,000.

Now as to our Party organization: At the time of the Convention we had five shop nuclei. We have at the present time eighteen shop nuclei. However only a few of these nuclei are in basic industry. We could speak of each shop nucleus separately and give examples as to their good work as well as to their shortcomings. However, we will single out only a few which have done very valuable work in basic industry.

We have at the present time, two shop nuclei in the I.R.T. system and one metal nucleus; one C.W.A. nucleus, two food, one laundry, five hospital and four H.R.B. and also two school nuclei involving industrial workers.

I want to single out the I.R.T. nucleus at the X shop. Our concentration unit, of carefully selected new members, has succeeded in organizing this nucleus first with three members and it has grown since to seven members. The union membership in this shop is about 350, directly the result of the nucleus and the concentration unit. This concentration unit and the nucleus were instrumental in creat-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing organization at the Y power house and the Z power house of the I.R.T., which are outside of our Section's territory. The concentration unit and the nucleus and the organization at the X shop, according to the comrades of the union, form the backbone of the union organization. We succeeded in defeating the new agreement at the company union meeting. At this same meeting we succeeded in electing a delegate to the Washington Congress. We have a shop paper now and we distribute the *Daily Worker* regularly. Our other nucleus in the I.R.T., in the A—— Department, is not in as favorable position as the X shop. Lately, however, it carried on a successful struggle to reinstate laid-off men, and at the monthly meeting of the company union local they succeeded in electing a delegate to the Washington Congress.

We have thirty street units. In the past year we have been engaged in putting through the group system, with some success. On several occasions the group system has been most effective in mobilization. Our units, however, are yet weak. We have not been able to digest the tremendous influx of new members. We must increase our educational activities in the units, through the Harlem School as well as through special functionary training schools. Our main weakness is the Unit Bureau. We have systematic meetings of unit organizers and meetings of other unit functionaries. However, the tempo of improvement is extremely slow. The task in connection with the unit must be, first of all, more attention by every member of the Section Committee to his particular unit, from which most of our Section Committee members and other leading comrades are unfortunately disconnected.

At the last registration, in December, 1933, our Section consisted of the present Section and what are now Sections Eighteen and Twenty. We registered 560 members. At the present registration, 1934, without Sections Eighteen and Twenty, we have so far registered over a thousand members. In 1933 we registered eight-seven Negroes. At this time we have registered over 300. However, registration is still a difficult job. Even now, weeks after the registration, comrades are coming in to be registered. To give an example of looseness which still prevails, let me cite the recent fraction meeting of the Tampa Workers Club, where out of twelve members present, only five were registered.

ON OUR EDUCATIONAL WORK

We have issued four popular pamphlets, all dealing with the Negro question. During the election campaign we disposed, through sales and distribution, of 60,000 election platforms in Spanish and English and of a great amount of other literature—the four pamph-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lets, leaflets against Sufi, etc. We have issued a special leaflet on every important political question. Speaking about our leaflets, however, we must state that often they are too long, not concrete, and, what is most important, badly distributed.

We have established the Harlem Workers School—384 students registered, including 107 Negro students, half of them women; 60 from mass organizations.

ANALYTICAL POINTS ABOUT THE SCHOOL

1. Inadequate selection of students by units and organizations; assignments given by units and organization on the students' school night.

2. The organization of the Student Council was attempted several times by calling the students to meetings in the class. At one meeting, entertainment and forum committees were formed, which, although they were called to meet, failed to do so. Nevertheless, a forum was organized without the help of the students and with very few attending. The forum has been held regularly for five weeks with an average attendance of 100 persons.

3. Party campaigns have not been brought into the classes, with the exception of an appeal made by the school for letters to be sent to the Scottsboro boys and resolutions passed in all classes for the release of imprisoned teachers of the Sacramento Workers School.

4. The Friends of the Harlem Workers School, an organization which supported the school financially last year, has not functioned at all this term. By giving affairs, this organization contributed largely to the social life of the school and was in a position to attract unorganized workers to the school. Steps are being taken now to re-organize this organization.

5. A school board has been organized to carry on the administrative functions of the school.

6. *The Communist* is sold regularly every month in the classes at 15 cents instead of 20 cents. Students are encouraged to buy the Party literature which is on sale in the office. Twenty-five copies of *The Communist* are sold on an average.

Here we can say that the School Board is still inactive, the agit-prop department still doesn't give it sufficient attention. The agit-prop department must immediately begin the organization of a training school for unit functionaries in order to develop new leaders for our Party and mass organizations.

In making this report, it is impossible to cover all the phases of our activity and to give a very self-critical analysis of everything we do. We have not been able to speak about our other mass organiza-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions, the various languages—Finnish, Estonian, the I.W.O., all of which play a very important role in our movement. However, it is impossible to deal with all of the questions in such a short space of time.

We can see from this report that our movement has grown. At the present time, we have direct organizational strength of 1,200 Party members and about 6,000 organized sympathizers and with the growth of our movement, grow our difficulties and responsibilities. We have not fulfilled all of our obligations. Our efforts must be intensified to work in true, Bolshevik manner. Under the guidance of the Central Committee and District Committee, our Section Committee should be in a position to achieve greater gains, more consolidation and a broad national liberation movement in our Section.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Meaning of Sidney Hook

By L. RUDAS

I. MR. HOOK HOOKS THE FACTS

MR. SIDNEY HOOK, Professor of Philosophy in New York University, has become in recent times rather virulent. In one of his latest publications[1] he condescends also to deal with my modest contribution to the clarification of some questions of the philosophy of Marxism, dialectical materialism.

Now, I am no professor in New York University. I am simply a professor of philosophy in the Institute of Red Professors in Moscow, the capital of the country where "orthodox Marxism" (the quotation marks are Hook's) reigns. In addition, I am actually an "official communist" and no Trotskyite—which I never was and never will be. I am treated accordingly by the illustrious professor. I am merely a "philosophical illiterate" (together with Comrade Mitin) who "in happy innocence" "confuses the most elementary distinctions recognized by logic and scientific method", the "most authoritative spokesmen" of "that species of dialectical materialism which is regarded as the official communist brand today."

However, there is a certain consolation for me in the treatment Marx, Engels and Lenin receive from Hook. The first created a historical theory whose "central terms" are "ambiguous";[2] Engels possessed "unclear absolutistic views",[3] he "accepted the crude formula of Feuerbach",[4] he "settled all the difficulties *in advance* by a rigid and mechanical application of historical materialism",[5] his standpoint is "logically infantile",[5] he made "jokers" with "an unconsciousness which almost borders on simplicity",[6] his "position is arrant nonsense";[7] Lenin has in his philosophical writings "a mechanical correspondence theory of knowledge",[8] etc. In short, all these

---

[1] *The Meaning of Marx.* A symposium. Edited by Sidney Hook. Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1934.

[2] *Towards the Understanding of K. Marx*, p. 105.

[3] L.c., p. 212.

[4] L.c., p. 37.

[5] L.c., pp. 147-148.

[6] L.c., p. 244sq.

[7] L.c., p. 148.

[8] L.c., p. 61.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thinkers—surely among the greatest mankind ever produced—were equally in "happy innocence" about the "fact" that they were "ambiguous", "unclear", "crude", "rigid", "simple", "logically infantile", "nonsensical" and—last but not least, with *dialectical* materialists—"mechanical"!

Consequently I am in rather good company. So is Mr. Hook. Mr. Bertrand Russell, the eclectic, Mr. John Dewey, the agnostic, are the best company for a "dialectical materialist" of his "species". Mr. M. R. Cohen, who regards revolution "a regrettable means", is the best company for a "communist" of his sort! They are all avowed and frankly admitted enemies of Communism. This does not deter Mr. Hook from declaring them "communists of a sort".[9] No wonder that it is precisely with their aid that Mr. Hook undertakes the task of "explaining" the meaning of Marxism!

No wonder, for Mr. Hook himself is not at all a lesser, but in every case a *greater*, enemy of Communism than they. The difference between Mr. Hook and the others is not in their aversion and hostility towards Communism, but in the frankness and sincerity with which they confess that aversion and hostility. For while Mr. Russell, Mr. Dewey and Mr. Cohen honestly and openly acknowledge their prejudices against Communism (and, dear me, what prejudices!), Mr. Hook, in the well-known manner of all revisionists and renegades of Marxism, "saves the appearances" by utilizing the *name* of Marx and the *word* "Marxism" for the *falsification* of Marxism; by assuming the pose of a "more revolutionary" Marxist than the "orthodox" ones, of an "unofficial" Communist against the "official" ones. In short, he *pretends* to fight against "bad" Communism in the name of "good" Communism in exactly the same manner as all opportunists pretend to fight against "bad" Communism for a "good" Social-Democracy and against a "bad" capitalism with the help of "good" capitalists. And, of course, with exactly the same aim—to deflect the proletariat from its revolutionary path by falsification of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, revolutionary Marxism.

This is obvious. It is proved by the whole history of the Second International in general, by the history of Trotskyism in particular; it is not refuted, but confirmed by Mr. Hook in singular. It is at once confirmed in this case by the fact that Mr. Hook *uses no single argument against the Communists which has not its origin in the arsenal of international Social-Democracy against Communism.* The detestable calumnies of the "rule of an uncontrollable bureaucracy" in the U.S.S.R. and of a "dictatorship *over* the proletariat"—what

[9] *The Meaning of Marx*, p. 102.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are these, if not the standard weapons of Social-Democracy against the first country of socialism? Nor is there anything unexpected in this. The French have a proverb: *La plus belle fiancée en France ne peut donner plus qu'elle a* (The prettiest betrothed in France cannot give more than she possesses). No more can Mr. Hook give other "arguments" than the "arguments" of international Menshevism, other weapons than the calumnies of Trotskyism.

There are, however, several feats of "originality" in the case of Mr. Hook. I shall mention only two of them:

Up to now we were slandered with the calumny that in the U.S.S.R. there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship *over* the proletariat. But Mr. Hook is the first to maintain that *the Communists themselves admit this* by *understanding* by the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" the dictatorship of the Communist Party *over* the proletariat!

"The so-called Communist Party in this country and elsewhere," he writes, "having abandoned the standpoint of Marx understand [!—L.R.] by the phrase [dictatorship of the proletariat—L.R.] the 'dictatorship *over* the proletariat' by the Communist Party." [10]

I draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the words "dictatorship *over* the proletariat" *are given in quotation marks* and so the appearance is created (deliberately, of course) *that this phrase is taken out of some Communist document,* that it is the *view* of the Communists themselves. On this basis it is then easily concocted that the Communists *understand* by the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the Communist Party *over* the proletariat, *i.e.*, that this is their *admitted theoretical standpoint!* Original, is it not? What do you call this? I call it—Hooking the facts.

Take another instance of the "originality" of Mr. Hook:

> "The result is," he "argues" in another place, "a degenerate workers' State in which the most important decisions are made by an uncontrollable bureaucracy. In such a State, the workers may be kept well-fed and housed because the *social nature of production makes it impossible for the bureaucrats to accumulate capital* although they can squander social wealth and human energy by costly means." [11]

The U.S.S.R. has been slandered up to the present time with the charge that there is no socialism, no new "nature of production", no "workers' State", but simply and solely State capitalism. This is at least consistent calumny, so to say, "monistic". But to maintain that in the U.S.S.R. there is a "dictatorship *over* the proletariat", and to say at the same time that, in spite of this, it is a "workers' State";

---

[10] *Modern Monthly*, October issue, 1934, p. 532.
[11] *The Meaning of Marx*, p. 139. (Italics mine—L.R.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to say *in the same sentence* that this workers' State is "degenerate" and that, in spite of this, there exists such a "nature of production" which makes the "accumulation of capital" impossible, is the privilege of Mr. Hook, a great enemy, as we shall see, of monistic philosophy. What "nature of production", pray, is that in which the "accumulation of capital is impossible"? And what is the essential historical task of a workers' State (according to Marx!), if not to make it impossible "to accumulate capital"? Is not precisely *this* the criterion of a *genuine* workers' State? Only a State which accomplishes *this* is a *genuine* workers' State—at least in the eyes of all class conscious workers and all enemies of the capitalist system. But, it is understood, all *adherents* of the capitalist mode of production call precisely for this reason this workers' State "degenerate". How could the fact, which—oh, with what reluctance!—Mr. Hook is compelled to admit, that in this State the workers are "kept well-fed and housed", be otherwise than the sign of a "degeneration"—in the eyes of a Mr. Hook?

Here we have some specimens of the "originality" of Mr. Hook. At the same time they are specimens of his really consistent thinking. He, at least, can by no means be accused of "happy innocence" either concerning the "confusion of the most elementary distinctions recognized by logic and scientific thinking" (even a hint of such a possibility would be an impertinence towards a professor of philosophy in New York University!), or the *social aim* of this incoherent nonsense contradicting the "most elementary distinctions" recognized—by *unfalsified* Marxism. He is neither innocent nor happy. Not innocent because this is a *conscious* falsification of Marxism. Mr. Hook is fully conscious of what he does. And precisely this is the cause of his incoherence. The fact is that it is impossible to hide a conscious anti-Marxism under the cloak of Marxism without incoherence, without the most horrible, most "glaring" contradictions. His unhappiness, on the other hand, is connected with the same fact. It is *impossible* to pose in the attitude of a "great revolutionary" being consciously quite the opposite without the feeling of, let us say, moral uneasiness.

Now from this we can have some foretaste of what kind of "originality" and consistency we may expect from Mr. Hook in the field of dialectical materialism. This foretaste is not very appetizing. Nevertheless we have to ladle out the whole soup. We must fight the enemies of Communism such as they are.

II. WHAT IS A MONISTIC PHILOSOPHY?

One of the chapters in Mr. Hook's book *Towards the Understanding* (?—*Misunderstanding* would by all means better correspond

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the purpose—L.R.) *of Karl Marx*, bears the title: "Is Marxism a Monistic System?" Mr. Hook denies it. He denies it categorically. He even, as we shall see in a moment, considers the logic of every monistic philosophy "self-defeating". The first question which arises, therefore, in this connection is—*what is monistic philosophy?*

I am only a "philosophical illiterate". But Mr. Hook is a professor of philosophy in New York University. A man of such dignity ought to know so to say *ex professore* what this quite "elementary distinction" of philosophy means. But the fact is, that however regrettable this may be for the reputation of New York University, he has not the faintest notion about it. To show this let me quote a philosophical writer who even in the conceited opinion of our honored professor must be something more than a "philosophical illiterate". This writer is *G. Plekhanov*. He explains the meaning of a "monistic" philosophy as follows:

> "Materialism and idealism exhaust the most important tendencies of philosophical thought. It is true, besides them almost always existed some other *dualistic* systems considering *spirit* and *matter* as distinct, independent *substances*. *Dualism* was never able to give a satisfactory answer to the inevitable question how these distinct substances, having nothing in common, act one upon the other. Therefore the most consistent and deepest thinkers had always an inclination to *monism*, *i.e.*, to the explanation of phenomena with the help of *some single basic principle* (*monos* means in Greek single). Every consistent *idealist* is a monist in the same degree as every consistent *materialist*. In *this* relation there is no difference whatever, for instance, between Berkeley and Holbach. . . . In the first half of our [that is, the 19th—L.R.] century there ruled *idealistic* monism; in the second half *materialistic*, though not always consistent and open, monism became victorious in *science* with which philosophy in the meantime was in complete fusion." [12]

As the reader sees, it is its relation to the "basic question of all philosophy", which determines whether a philosophy is *monistic* or *dualistic*. In *this* relation there are only two alternatives; either your philosophy is *monistic* or it is *dualistic*. A monist can be an idealist *or* a materialist; a dualist can neither be a *consistent* materialist *nor* a *consistent idealist*. He may have the *illusion* that he is a consistent thinker, but *in reality* he can only be an *eclectic*. This is the case, for example, in our time with Mr. Bertrand Russell, when he declares:

> "I cannot assent to Marx's philosophy, still less to that of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. I am not a materialist, though I am even further removed from idealism." [13]

---

[12] G. Plekhanov, "On the question of development of monistic view of history." *Works*, VII, p. 66 (Russian edition). (Italics of the author. Translation mine—L.R.)

[13] *The Meaning of Marx*, p. 83.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When he wrote this he evidently forgot what he had written some years ago. Then he maintained exactly the opposite:

> "On the question of the material out of which the physical world is constructed, the views advocated in this volume have, perhaps, more affinity with idealism than with materialism." [14]

But as the philosophical line of somebody is determined *fundamentally* by his relation to the "question of the material out of which the physical world is constructed" (this is what Plekhanov calls "substance"), and as on this question Mr. Russell's views admittedly have "more affinity with idealism than with materialism", he is evidently more an *idealist* than a materialist, that is, he is an *inconsistent* idealist, whatever he may imagine in later years about his philosophical line. This inconsistency, however, is again only partly the personal fault of Mr. Bertrand Russell. In essence it is *inseparable* from every dualistic viewpoint. And the viewpoint of Mr. Russell is decidedly a dualistic one in spite of the fact that he himself calls it a "neutral monism". It is strange how far the illusions of a person may go in relation to his own mind!

By the way, it is not only a curious fact that this philosopher calls his eclecticism "neutral *monism*". The source of its lies not only in his illusions about himself and the real nature of his philosophy, but in the fact that he knows the history of philosophy somewhat better than does Mr. Hook. He knows very well that he would *unpardonably expose* himself and his philosophical standing if he would not represent it as *monism*. Non-monistic philosophies are compromised so much by the history of philosophy that he must stick to the *word* monism even if in every essence he is an adherent of dualism, of an inconsistent *subjective* idealism, the absurdest kind of idealism.[15]

In the light of these facts it will be rather unexpected to learn that, in the opinion of Mr. Hook, monistic philosophy is anything but a consistent philosophy, that it is, quite on the contrary, a philosophy whose logic is "self-defeating". Why so? To answer this question I am unfortunately compelled to quote Mr. Hook *in extenso* —whether the readers like it or not.

> "On any monistic theory," he declares, "which holds that the universe is organically determined through and through—whether it

---

[14] *The Analysis of Matter*, p. 387.

[15] Compare his following statement: "The physicists of our day no longer believe in nature. That in itself, however, would be no great loss, provided we could still have a large and varied external world, but unfortunately they have not supplied us with any reason for believing in a non-material external world." (Russell: *The Scientific Outlook*, p. 85.) That is to say, there is neither a material nor non-material external world! This he calls "further removed from idealism than from materialism"!

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> be the absolute idealism of Hegel or orthodox dialectical materialism —it follows that we cannot know the truth about anything unless we know the truth about everything, that if we are wrong about anything we *must* be wrong about everything, that if any single event had turned differently, every other event in the history of nature and man would have been diffeernt, that genuine possibility and novelty become mysteries whose existence can be admitted only at the cost of glaring contradiction. Fortunately, even those who refuse to learn from experience cannot believe such a philosophy to be true, for its very logic is self-defeating. Since at no time can anyone in his senses maintain that he knows the truth about everything, he must admit in accordance with the premises that the philosophy of organic determinism cannot be true nor, if true, can it be known to be true." [16]

Even if Mr. Hook calls me again a "philosophical illiterate" I don't know what organic determinism means. I frankly confess my ignorance. I know *mechanical* (abstract) determinism and *dialectical* determinism. The first repudiates *accident* as an objective category in nature and history (so the French Materialists in the eighteenth century or Comrade Bukharin in our days); the latter regards necessity and accident both as objective categories in nature as well as in history which dialectically change into each other (so Hegel, Marx, Engels and Lenin). Consequently, what Mr. Hook says about Hegel is utter ignorance of this philosopher. Hegel was *monistic* (in the sense explained above), but only in the imagination of Mr. Hook does this mean the "glaring" nonsense he ascribes to Hegelian philosophy. He simply does not know what the term monism means. Or maybe he knows it, but again—he Hooks the facts. In variation he Hooks now the facts of the history of philosophy, in order to be able to concoct the "genuine novelty" presented to his readers as the essence of "any monistic theory".

The French materialists were in no less degree monists than Hegel. Nevertheless, Hegel's viewpoint on the question of determinism was diametrically opposed to that of the French materialists, as every schoolboy nowadays knows. Consequently, this question has nothing to do with monism, it has to do exclusively with *mechanism* and *dialectic*. But even Mr. Hook will not dare deny that Hegel was one of the greatest dialecticians. This shows what arrant nonsense it is to link up a mechanical viewpoint (even if not a distorted one as stated by Mr. Hook) on the question of determinism with the monism of Hegel. But to ascribe to Hegel the view that he regarded "genuine possibility and novelty" as "mysteries whose existence can be admitted only at the cost of glaring contradiction" shows still more

[16] *The Meaning of Marx*, pp. 129-130. (Italics of Hook—L.R.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Mr. Hook has only a very spurious notion about the philosophy of this great thinker. Indeed it is no "mystery" for anybody with the exception of Mr. Hook that Hegel not only recognizes "genuine novelty", but that his whole philosophy is entirely *based* on this recognition, on the concept of *becoming*. It is true, Hegel explains the origin of the new by the struggle of opposites, by the dialectical *contradiction*. But to consider the dialectical contradiction of Hegel as "glaring contradiction" is again not very favorable for the reputation of New York University, not to mention the fact that it characterizes sufficiently the kind and the level of Mr. Hook's own philosophy.

But not only to Hegel, also to Engels is ascribed the mechanical viewpoint in determinism. At least implicitly. For Mr. Hook reproaches also Engels with having a monistic system.

> "Already in his *Eugen Duehring's Umwaelzung der Wissenschaft*" —writes he—"(one section of which was written by Marx) we find a treatment of mooted problems of metaphysics, science and ethical practice from the point of view of a monistic system rather than of a unified method." [17]

The assertion that Engels treats the problems of metaphysics, etc., from the point of view of a monistic *system* is again worthy of the level of knowledge of Mr. Hook. Once more every school-boy ought to know the words of Engels:

> "This work [*Anti-Duehring*—L.R.] cannot in any way aim at presenting another system as an alternative to Herr Duehring's system." (Engels: *Anti-Duehring*, p. 10, English edition.)

Anyhow he recognizes here the fact that Engels' philosophy was *monistic*. Now, since "any *monistic theory*" is in his eyes connected with a mechanistic conception of determinism, this holds good also for Engels' monism. But any one who knows the famous chapter in Engels' *Eugen Duehring* about necessity and accident (now available also for English readers), knows that this is perfectly untrue. Not to mention other famous passages in Engels' *Naturdialektik* in which he criticizes sharply the mechanical viewpoint of abstract necessity. Mr. Hook again Hooks the facts.

But why this aversion of Mr. Hook to monistic theory? It is no "mystery". This aversion hides only his aversion to *materialism*. This I will show in the next chapter.

III. MARX', ENGELS' AND LENIN'S "IMAGE-THEORY"

As the reader could convince himself, there are only two con-

[17] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 35.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sistent lines in philosophy: materialism and idealism: both *monistic*. Two and a half thousand years of history of philosophy prove this and this is something more than the illusions and ideologies of certain people about themselves, even if they are F.R.S., as Mr. B. Russell, or professors of New York University as Mr. Hook. From this follows that whosoever does not want to be a monistic philosopher must be an *eclectic*. Here again, there as no remedy against this in the conceited subjective opinion of certain people about themselves. But this makes it fully intelligible why Mr. Hook, on page 129 of his *The Meaning of Marx*, is so enraged at the "dogma" of the Communists to make a distinction between subjective intention and objective consequence. He feels that an objective investigation of his "anti-monistic" position inevitably leads to disastrous results for this position. Being unable to deny that this is a "Marxian distinction" he makes haste to declare that the Communists "abuse" this principle. They do not. At least in your case, Mr. Hook, there is no opportunity to abuse this principle. There is a complete *harmony* between your subjective intentions and their objective results.

What these subjective intentions are—at least concerning the philosophy of Marxism—is clear from the beginning: note the attack of Mr. Hook on Engels, and then on Lenin. It was always a favorite trick of all opportunists to oppose Engels to Marx. Mr. Hook even concludes, so as to say *a priori*, on the basis of formal logic (we saw and shall further see that he is a great expert in formal logic!) that there *could not be* a complete harmony between the views of these two men.

> "Certainly," he writes, "there is no justification for the easy assumption made by the self-styled 'orthodox' that there is a *complete identity* in the doctrines and standpoints of Marx and Engels from the beginning of their friendship on. The indisputable fact that they were minds of different order would make that unlikely." [18]

But what are the facts? We have at our disposal the correspondence between Marx and Engels during *forty years*. In these forty years never, not *once*, did there arise a theoretical or political or tactical difference between them. Consequently we can establish a perfect *harmony* between them. This, of course, is not an *abstract identity*; you cannot say Engels was Marx. Great dialectician that he is, Mr. Hook knows, however, exclusively *abstract identity* and cannot even conceive that in spite of the absence of an abstract identity there can exist a *concrete identity*, in our case, a *perfect harmony* between such great thinkers as Marx and Engels, both of whom from the very beginning, developed independently of each other along the

[18] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 35. (My italics—L.R.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

same line and then thought in perfect harmony not only in every essential, but, as their correspondence shows, even in details.

In view of these obvious facts the Social-Democrats never could bring themselves to accuse Engels of a serious divergence from Marx during the lifetime of the latter. They restricted themselves to the calumny that Engels "vulgarized" Marxism *after the death of Marx!* But the "originality" of our Mr. Hook here shines again in its full light; he accuses Engels of a divergence from Marx during *the lifetime of Marx!* His opinion of Engels' *Anti-Duehring* is quoted above. Even *he* cannot help remarking, in brackets, that one section of this work of Engels was written by Marx. He reduces the participation of Marx to this section, and shows with this again fully—his "innocence"! *Engels read the whole manuscript to Marx,* who helped him in many respects, supplying him with extracts from other works, collaborating with him as usual. Now, is it conceivable that Marx in this case and during a whole lifetime did not see, or if he saw, did not protest against the "vulgarization" of one of the basic principles of his theory by his nearest friend and collaborator? That he tolerated the "crude idea" of Engels? That he was *indifferent* to the misinterpretation of the basic principles of his philosophy even if by his friend Engels? Perhaps Mr. Hook ascribes this with his usual originality to the circumstance that Marx was economically dependent on Engels?

This basic principle of the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism is the theory that our sensations are images or copies of the external world. Mr. Hook regards this theory as a "crude formula of Feuerbach" accepted by Engels. But this is one of the *fundamental* points in the philosophy of Marxism. And not only in Marxism, in all materialism against idealism. While the idealists maintain that the external world is an other-being of the idea (they differ among themselves only on the characteristics of this other being) *all materialists,* without any exception, maintain that the idea is only the reflection, image or copy of the real world (they differ, again, only in the mechanical or dialectical conception of this process of reflection). On this fundamental question of all materialism in general, and Marxism in particular, Engels allegedly differed from Marx! What good is it then that Mr. Hook again "saves the appearances" by declaring that between Marx and Engels there was "no essential difference", that "Engels gave" only "a characteristic emphasis to the doctrine of Marx"? [19]

[19] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx,* p. 35. Here it is important to establish the fact that Mr. Hook is fully aware that in abandoning the theory of image of Marx, Engels and Lenin he is "smuggling philosophical

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Only" a characteristic emphasis! He accepted the "crude formula of Feuerbach", this, however, is only "a characteristic emphasis"! The reader has already had an opportunity to convince himself what the "characteristic emphasis to the doctrine of Marx" means in the hands of Mr. Hook. But I give some more instances in connection with this question of epistomology interesting us here.

> "In his *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der Klassischen Philosophie,*" he writes, "Engels, in an attempt to safeguard the materialistic foundations [!—L.R.] of dialectical materialism, did not sufficiently stress the place and importance of this active practical element in the Marxian theory of knowledge. He accepted the crude formula of Feuerbach according to which sensations are images and copies (*Abbilder* and *Spiegelbilder*) of the external world without explaining how it is possible for ideas, if they are *only* reflections, to help transform or revolutionize things." [20]

Thus Engels accepted this "crude formula" only in his *L. Feuerbach,* Mr. Hook? Now what about the following phrase in his *Anti-Duehring*:

> "None of these processes and methods of thought fit into the frame of metaphysical thinking. But for dialectics, which grasps things *and their images, ideas,* essentially in their inter-connections, in their sequence, their movement,[21] their birth and death, such processes . . . are so many corroborations of its own method of treatment." [22]

Or take the following statement of the same writing:

> "An adequate, exhaustive scientific statement of this interconnection, the formulation in thought of an *exact picture* of the world system in which we live, is impossible for us. . . ." [23]

And on the same page he uses once more the expression "mental image of the world system". It seems that he accepted the "crude formula of Feuerbach" already in his *Anti-Duehring* which, as mentioned before, was read and approved by Marx. *And Marx did not*

---

idealism" into Marxism. He says: "The emphasis upon the role of activity in Marxism . . . lays the author open to the charge of smuggling in philosophical idealism". (*Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx,* p. 7.) The pretext for this "smuggling in philosophical idealism" is—the alleged fight of Mr. Hook against the "mechanical and fatalistic conceptions" of the "orthodox Marxists"!

[20] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx,* p. 37sq. Italics as in the original.

[21] Later on I shall have to deal with the "laws of movement of consciousness". I draw the attention of the reader to the fact that Engels himself uses here the expression "sequence, movement" of ideas.

[22] *Anti-Duehring,* English edition, p. 29. (Italics mine—L.R.)

[23] L.c., p. 46. (Italics mine—L.R.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

object! What do you call this? I call it again—Hooking the facts.

But this is not all. Hook maintains that according to Engels ideas are *only* images. In several other places he even maintains that according to Engels they are *passive* images, and that "the mind is not active in knowing." [24] The same is imputed to Lenin. Is it worth while to refute this "happy innocence"? No, to be sure. Nevertheless, read the following passage of Engels (written by him long before *Anti-Duehring* or *Ludwig Feuerbach,* about the year 1874):

> "*Causality.* The first thing that strikes us when we consider matter in motion is the connection between the individual motions of individual bodies with one another, their mutually *conditioned* character. However, not only do we find that one motion follows another, but that we can produce a certain motion by establishing the conditions under which it occurs in nature. Indeed, we can even produce movements which do not take place in nature at all (industry), or at least not in the same manner, and we find that these movements can be given a definite direction in advance. *In this way, through the activity of man* is grounded the idea of causality—the idea that one movement is the *cause* of another. The regular succession constitutes no proof and thus far Humean-scepticism is justified in saying that the regularities of *post hoc* (after this) will never prove *propter hoc* (because of this). It is only through the activity of man that the test of causality can be made. Natural scientists as well as philosophers neglected up to now entirely the *influence of the activity of man on his thinking.* They know only nature, on the one hand, thoughts on the other. But the transformation of nature by man, and not nature alone, is just *the most essential and nearest foundation of human thinking. And in the proportion in which man has learned to transform nature, in this proportion grew his intelligence.* The naturalistic conception of history . . . is consequently one sided and forgets that man reacts upon nature, transforms it, creates new conditions of existence for himself. . . ." [25]

Now, is casuality an image, a copy of the reality? It is. Does Engels maintain that human mind is *passive* in copying the reality by means of the category of causality? Quite the contrary, he approaches the "naturalistic conception" with not taking into consideration human activity "as the most essential and nearest foundation of human thinking". Or does Mr. Hook assert that human activity upon nature is possible without mind-activity? In his "characteristic emphasis" to the doctrine of Marx and Engels he is capable of it.

By the way, this passage (not fully, he omits, for known reasons, the phrase about the influence of the action upon his intelligence and about *naturalism*) is quoted by Mr. Hook, together with the other

---

[24] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx,* p. 61.

[25] Engels, *Naturdialektik,* pp. 164-165. (Italics mine—L.R.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

statement of Engels: "But before human beings argued they acted. (Im enfang war die Tat.)" But when he did so, he actually forgot what he said previously about the "crude idea" of Engels!

But now about Lenin. Mr. Hook says literally:

> "Peculiarly enough, Lenin overlooks the incompatibility between his political activism and its underlying dynamic philosophy of interaction as expressed in *What Is to Be Done?* and the mechanical correspondence theory of knowledge—defended so vehemently by him in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*."

Here he follows Engels word for word in his statement that "Sensations are copies, photographs, images and mirror-reflections of things" and that the mind is not active in knowing.[26]

Compare this with the following statement of S. Marck, the well-known Social-Democrat, in regard to Marx:

> "Marx," says he, "underlines his applied methodical idealism again and again without noticing the whole contradiction of this methodical idealism to his positivist-materialist theory of image."[27]

In the first place it is interesting that S. Marck, who again has somewhat better knowledge of Marx than his American comrade and colleague, dares not deny that *Marx had the same theory of image as Engels.* Nor do A. Kranold, M. Adler and all the rest. The facts are too strong for them. Not for Mr. Hook. He Hooks them.

On the other hand, notice the same *tactics.* Marx has, according to S. Marck, a materialist-positivist theory of image. But in the *application* he is a "methodical idealist". And he did not notice the contradiction between his theory and practice—S. Marck had to come and detect it for him. The same trick is applied by Mr. Hook in relation to Lenin. In his philosophical writings Lenin "peculiarly enough" accepts "word for word" and "defends vehemently", the "crude formula" of Engels, but in his practice . . . there he is a "dynamic activist". And he, too, was unable to detect the contradiction between his philosophical theory and his practice. Mr. Hook had to come and detect it for him. He had to come and detect that Lenin's philosophical works do not contain the "true philosophy of Lenin".[28] Peculiar enough!

By the way, Mr. Hook seems to know only the *Materialism* and *Empirio-Criticism* of Lenin. He never mentions other philosophical writings of Lenin of first rate importance, published not only in Rus-

---

[26] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 61.
[27] S. Marck, *Hegelianism and Marxism*, p. 13 (German edition).
[28] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 62.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sian but also in German, in which Lenin abundently deals with the active role of the human mind without abandoning the image-theory of knowledge. But what do you call a proceeding which does not take into consideration the most important writings of an eminent personality as Lenin only because they did not appear in the native language of Mr. Hook? I abstain from characterizing such a procedure.

One last word before closing this question. According to Mr. Hook, on the basis of the image-theory of knowledge, the fight against subjective idealism and Humeism is impossible:

> "How human beings," he maintains, "can escape the magic circle of their sensations, how they can determine whether their sensations correspond with the external world, how, in fact, they can know that there is an external world, becomes, on this hypothesis, a mystery. True, Engels attempted to solve this mystery by appealing to experiment and practice. But since experiment, as he saw it [!—L.R.], results in sensations which are again taken to be cases of immediate knowledge, Engels was no nearer a non-sensationalistic criterion of truth than the modern followers of Hume, against whom he used the 'argument from experience'." [29]

As you see, the world is full of mysteries for Mr. Hook and he is the only individual capable of solving all these mysteries. It is a mystery, how "genuine novelty" arises on the basis of the monistic philosophy of Hegel, it is a mystery how on the basis of the theory of knowledge of Engels you escape Humeism. But it is not at all a mystery what all this "mystery hunting" by Mr. Hook means. *It is simply an attack against materialism in the form of an attack against Engels' and Lenin's materialism.* This is no mystery at all. It is again simply the same trick of all opportunists from Bernstein to Max Adler and Bogdanow.

In the first place, he looks for a "non-sensationalistic criterion of truth". Well, if he finds it, let him come again. Many philosophers tried it, better minds than that of Mr. Hook—but in vain. "*The first proposition of the theory of knowledge is without doubt the principle that the sole source of our cognition is sensation*", says Lenin. I quote the whole passage as interesting and essential in every point:

> "They [Mach and Avenarius—L.R.] hold the viewpoint of empiricism (all cognition from experience) or sensationalism (all cognition from sensations). This viewpoint leads to the reassertion of the fundamental opposition between idealism and materialism; it does not eliminate that opposition, no matter in what 'new' verbal attire (elements) it might be clothed. The solipsist, that is, the subjective

[29] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 38.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> idealist, and the materialist may recognize sensations as the source of our cognition. Both Berkeley and Diderot started from Locke." [30]

From Diderot to Lenin all materialists were sensationalists, they differ however in the criterion of *practice and experiment.* And it is precisely this *decisive* point which is falsified by Mr. Hook by maintaining that practice and experiment result again in sensations, and, consequently, cannot be a criterion of truth! But what on earth does *not* result in sensations? Everything that man does results in sensations, and the task is only to test wrong, incomplete sensations through practice and experiment in order to get better, more complete sensations.

> "Of course," says Lenin, "we must not forget that the criterion of practice, in the nature of things, neither confirms nor refutes completely any human presentation. The criterion is sufficiently indefinite not to allow human knowledge to become 'absolute' and at the same time sufficiently definite to wage a bitter struggle with all varieties of idealism and agnosticism." [31]

On the other hand, Mr. Hook calls Marx' philosophy "naturalistic activism" "experimental, evolutionary naturalism", he speaks of "a realistic theory of knowledge", etc. Now this is once more an astounding piece of, let us say, "happy innocence" of the most elementary facts in the history of philosophy. Naturalists are precisely those thinkers who, on the one hand have no historical viewpoint concerning nature, and who on the other hand cannot and will not ***extend*** *their materialism to history*. But to call Marx, who was the **first** in the history of materialism to extend materialism to history, the creator of *historical materialism*—to call Marx, who first stressed that "there is only one science; the science of history which is divided into history of nature and history of man"—to call Marx a *naturalist,*—is really a "characteristic emphasis to the doctrine of Marx"! Why do you, Mr. Hook, not call Marx simply a *materialist* as he did himself? Because you are an enemy of materialism! And to call Marx, the revolutionary, an "evolutionary naturalist"—shows again to what degree Mr. Hook is in possession of the "most elementary distinctions" of Marxism. [32] Finally, to call Marx' and Engels'

---

[30] Lenin, "Empirio-Criticism," *Works*, Vol. XIV, pp. 98-99.

[31] L.c., p. 113sq.

[32] To what extent Mr. Hook is ignorant of the most elementary facts of Marxism is shown by his phrase on p. 169 of his *Understanding of Karl Marx:* "The machine transfers value"—you can read there—"which of itself has both products; but it cannot produce new value." *With Marx*, it is evident, it is the *worker* who transfers (*i.e.*, conserves) old values at the same time he creates new ones. The machine, Mr. Hook, transfers only *in your neo-orthodox Marxism* value to its products!

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theory of knowledge "realistic" is again characteristic enough. Characteristic for Mr. Hook's own standpoint. It is well known that Mr. Dewey is also a "realist", so are all Machists, even Mr. Russell has at times called himself a "realist". In view of this abuse of the term, Lenin considered it a confused and confusing terminology to use the word realism instead of materialism.

> "We call attention to the fact," he says, "that the term 'realism' is here [with Avenarius—L.R.] employed in a sense contrary to idealism. Following Engels, I will use *exclusively* the term 'materialism' in this sense, accounting it as the only correct one especially since the term 'realism' has been usurped by positivists and other muddleheads who vacillate between materialism and idealism." [33]

But precisely this is the aim of Mr. Hook—to create confusion. He is no Marxist and no materialist. But as he cannot, without exposing himself (that would not serve his aims), declare—I am a "Marxist of a sort"—so he cannot declare—I am only a "materialist of a sort". But the reader, I am sure, discovered it long ago and without any trouble. And also *what sort* of Marxist and materialist Mr. Hook is.

In this connection I mention one of his objections raised against me. I used the expression—the laws of movement of thinking. Hear what Mr. Hook has to offer against this:

"To speak of the laws of motion of consciousness is like speaking of the virtue of triangles".[34]

In the first place let me confront with this assertion of Mr. Hook another assertion of Frederick Engels:

"It was to be proved," he said, "to the world that, from now on for the *highest product of organic matter, human mind, the inverse law of movement* is valid than for inorganic matter." (*Naturdialektic*).

Engels speaks from the *law of movement of human mind.* I am consequently again in good company!

Or take his following statement (in which Engels regards thinking as the *movement of matter*):

> "Motion in the general sense, taken as the mode of existence, the inherent attribute of matter, means all changes and processes going on in the universe *from mere change of place to thinking.*" [35]

Further. Spinoza regarded as a great virtue of triangles that the sum of their angles is always 180 degrees. But even the laws of triangles *move,* that is change, consequently we know nowadays that

---

[33] L.c., p. 39.
[34] *The Meaning of Marx,* p. 130.
[35] Engels: *Naturdialektik,* the basic forms of movement, p. 291.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this is not always the case. Concerning the virtue of triangles it is also undoubtedly useful to bear in mind that triangles are socially harmless while certain people are quite the opposite. As far as thinking is concerned (and I spoke of thinking and not of consciousness), thinking is either a movement or not. In the latter case it is rest. What the term "movement" in this case means Engels explained long ago, stating, that "movement in connection with matter means change in general". (*Naturdialektic*). The more it is the case in connection with thinking which itself is not a material movement, although indissolubly connected with the material movement of the brain and the nervous system. Now, only Mr. Hook in his capacity of Professor of New York University can deny that thinking is not rest, that it is movement, change. Perhaps not so in New York University, but surely almost everywhere else.

Now, if thinking is movement, change, is this movement, change without law, or is it subject to *laws*? Mr. Hook, great dialectician that he is, thinks in connection with movement at once of *mechanical laws*, for under movement he is capable of understanding exclusively *mechanical movement*. But I spoke of dialectical and logical laws. Mr. Hook, of course, has every right to dispute the existence of these laws of the movement of thinking; his writings give little right to suppose the existence of such laws.

Now as to the movement of consciousness. In Marx's teachings there is a section dealing with *ideologies*. Are ideologies consciousness or not? Undoubtedly. Do they move, that is, change? If so, and they undoubtedly do, are they subject to laws? If you, Mr. Hook, maintain that they are not, what "sort" of a Marxist are you? As the reader sees, it is quite easy to find out, what "sort of a Marxist" and "dialectical materialist" Mr. Hook is.

IV. ONCE MORE DIALECTIC MATERIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Thus far I have not dealt with the "criticism" of Mr. Hook concerning my articles in the *Labour Monthly* on "Dialectical Materialism and Communism". Compared with his "criticism" of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, of the Third International, of "official communism", of "orthodox dialectical materialism", his counter-revolutionary calumnies against the U.S.S.R., it is quite unimportant what he deigns to say about *me*. For, though he tries to make out of me "the most authoritative spokesman" of "orthodox dialectical materialism" I must gratefully decline the honor. The most authoritative spokesmen of orthodox, and of course any dialectical, materialism are Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. If I fail I do so on my own responsibility. But did I fail?

Surely there are in my writings many faults which a better dialec-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tical materialist would have evaded. But since I am only a modest worker on the revolutionary field, and in no way a leader in the political nor in the theoretical domain—mistakes on my part are inevitable. Nevertheless, I hope my writings as a *system of views* (in spite of their faults) are in accordance with the line of my party and in consequence also with dialectical materialism. But have I failed in the main question?

This was the question concerning the relation of dialectic materialism and Communism. On other points alluded to by Mr. Hook, which—characteristically—are in most cases the same as in the criticism of Mr. Conze in the *Plebs* (for instance, the question of development, the inevitability of Communism, etc.), I answered in the *Labour Monthly* and in the third edition of my pamphlet. Here is the essence of what Mr. Hook finds fit to "offer" as the logical consequence of my statement of the question:

> "This surpasses everything that the Catholic Church at the heyday of its temporal power ever proclaimed. To hold seriously that a correct understanding of nature and society is possible only to members of the Communist Party is to say that only members of the Communist Party *can know the truth about anything*—whether it concerns problems of mathematics, physics, psychology, art or politics. To say this is to furnish the emotional premise for a ruthless policy of suppression and censorship in every domain of knowledge, since if we are convinced that we have the truth while others who are not members of the Communist Party *must* be in error, we are justified in protecting society by liquidating the sources of illusion, error and deceit. And this is offered in the name of 'scientific' philosophy, a 'critical' party which strives to preserve the best in human culture, and—of Marxism!" [36]

Now if I had said *this* as it is "offered" here, my logic would be indeed "insane". But we saw previously the "characteristic emphasis on the doctrine of Marx" offered us by Mr. Hook. The "emphasis" in this case is not less "characteristic" than elsewhere; "ruthless policy of suppression and censorship", "Catholic Church", in other places: "sectarianship". All these are for us quite well-known calumnies of certain "communists and materialists of a sort". And I thoroughly understand why Mr. Hook is so opposed to the connection between dialectical materialism and Communism. *Being outside the Communist Party he of course knows that he can be neither a Communist nor a dialectical materialist nor a Marxist.* But he would be unable to accomplish his social role if he would openly abandon the name of "communist", "dialectical materialist", etc. This, as is well

[36] *The Meaning of Marx*, p. 128. (Italics of the author.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

known, is generally the case with all his colleagues. Look at Kautsky. Look at Trotsky.

In consequence he is compelled to allege that you can be a Communist outside the Communist Party, and being outside the Communist Party you can remain a dialectical materialist. But what do the fact show, What does practice show? I, as all Communists, am a convinced adherent of practice; for us practice (precisely as Engels saw it!) is more convincing than the nicest phrases anybody can concoct about "genuine possibility and novelty". The instances given above of your calumnies about the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party, about Stalin, your specimens of Marxism and dialectical materialism are in your case just as self-damning as in the case of Kautsky, Trotsky and other "unofficial Marxists".

But how does the question of Communism and dialectical materialism stand *theoretically?* The opportunity which Mr. Hook gave me to say some more words about this question is the only reason that I decided to answer him at all.

Already in his first greater theoretical formulation of his philosophical viewpoint, in the *Deutsche Ideologie* Marx stresses against Feuerbach:

> "Out of these statements it is also clear in what degree Feuerbach deceives himself, when he (*Wiegands Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1845, Vol. 2) on the basis of the qualification '*Gemeinmensch*' (social man) declares that he is a communist, makes out of it a predicate of '*the*' Man, when he in consequence thinks that he can again change *the word communist which in the existing world means the adherent of a definite revolutionary party* into a mere category." [37]

Marx says this against *Feuerbach,* certainly a somewhat different personality than Mr. Hook! Feuerbach called himself a Communist, on the grounds that he sympathized with Communism. No, answers Marx, you are no Communist, this is a self-deception. A *Communist is only one who is the adherent* (Anhaenger) *of a definite revolutionary party* (einer bestimmten revolutionaeren Partei). This is quite natural with Marx. The party with Marx is not *any* little political grouping or caucus which comes and goes according to political circumstances, but the *"party in the historical sense"* (as the same Marx says in a letter to Freiligrath). And what is the party in this sense? It is *the vanguard of a revolutionary class whose historical task is the changing of a given society into a higher social order as the leader and conscious representative of the oppressed masses, in the first instance of the class out of whose best elements it is built up.*

[37] Marx, *Die Deutsche Ideologie*, p. 31 (Popular German edition.)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This was true even for the leading parties in the bourgeois revolutions (in England the Independents, in France the Jacobins).

If in this respect there is no difference between revolutionary parties in the bourgeois revolutions and the revolutionary party of the proletariat, there is an essential difference in other respects. With all parties in the bourgeois revolutions *practice and theory were and necessarily had to be in collision, while with the proletariat revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory are and necessarily must be in perfect harmony*. But the theoretical basis of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat is *dialectical materialism*.

The consequence is quite simple, at least to anybody who possesses the "elements of logic". As dialectical materialism is the theoretical foundation of the Communist movement, as, on the other hand, the Communist movement can be led *only* by the revolutionary party, as, further, you can be a Communist *only* when you are an adherent of the revolutionary party, therefore no Communist can have any other *conscious* philosophical standpoint than that of dialectical materialism; every Communist must accept dialectical materialism as his philosophical basis. Otherwise his practice will be in hopeless divergence from his theory.

Now, it is known, that in the ranks of the Communist Party there are some members who are not consistent dialectical materialists. Such members can be of two kinds. Either people who are leading theoreticians, or practical party workers. For those outside the U.S.S.R., the best known example of the first kind is Comrade Bukharin. What about such cases?

In the first place, the fact that even a theoretical leader of such a rank as Comrade Bukharin, although being a mechanical materialist, was in no way disturbed in his party adherence shows that the hypocritical lamentations of Mr. Hook about the "ruthless censorship" in the C.P. are nothing else than—a ruthless calumny. Already Lenin criticized the mechanism and eclecticism of Comrade Bukharin, but he was fought *theoretically*, not in the least *politically*. But when his mechanicism led him to *political* errors then of course he had to be fought *politically*. But in the case of such an eminent leader as Comrade Bukharin, his lack of dialectics sooner or later had to lead to grave political errors. Only a Mr. Hook can imagine that politics and dialectics have nothing to do with each other. If you are a good dialectical materialist you will be so in politics as well as in theory. If not, you will show this both in theory and in practice.

That is what I meant when I said that Plekhanov and Bukharin were not able to have an unexceptionable line in dialectical materialism *in the last resort also* because they did not have an unexceptionable line in politics. Again only Mr. Hook, characteristically, can have

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the opinion that you can betray the revolution, become a social patriot as Plekhanov—and remain a great dialectical materialist!

But here we have to distinguish between leaders on the political front and non-leaders. Take the late Stepanow-Skworzow, an eminent Party member, an old Bolshevik. He was a mechanical materialist. Nevertheless in politics he was spotless. But he was no political leader. The discrepancy between his theoretical and political standpoints did not show itself in practice, it did not become conscious for him, nor did it harm the class struggle of the proletariat. He was fought theoretically. He died, unfortunately for the Party, before this theoretical fight against the mechanists was finished.

Now about the Party members of the second kind. Whether they are economists or historians or practical Party workers, they must be *Marxists*. This is evident. If they are Marxists, they are dialectical materialists, even if their specialty is not philosophy. To what a degree they are Marxists, is shown by their theoretical and practical work. If they commit faults in their field, surely they show also that they are not quite good dialecticians. (Marxism is inseparable from dialectics!) But so long as these errors do not grow into a *system of thought hostile to Marxism*, and therefore to dialectical materialism, they are on the whole—Marxists and so dialectical materialists, and thus they can remain Communists. But who can assert that Mr. Hook's views are not a *system of views* hostile to Marxism and dialectical materialism?

This, I think is clear for everybody. It has nothing to do either with the Catholic Church nor with ruthless censorship.

In connection with this and your other similar calumnies let us cast a glance at one of your "neat little syllogisms". Not to refute them, by no means. Nobody could do this better than you do yourself by means of your "glaring contradictions". But because it is a good opportunity to test your "dynamic activism".

Being a great admirer of *formal logic* you characterize everywhere the "ruthlessness" of "official communists" by syllogisms based on formal logic. Now, in formal logic, as you must admit, everything depends on the *major premise*. Take the major premise for granted, and everything goes like clock-work. So if you take for granted that idea is primary, matter only another being of idea, the idealistic systems follow without formal-logical contradiction. Refute this premise and idealism collapses.

Now how can one test whether the major premise is correct or not? Exclusively by *practice*, by *experience*. With this you again *must* agree. It is you who defend practice even against Engels, it is you who are a "dynamic activist".

Now let us apply practice to one of your and to one of my syl-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

logisms. You will excuse me when I give to my syllogism the precedence. It sounds as follows:

1. Only a Trotskyist is a revolutionary, a genuine Marxist and Communist.

2. Mr. Hook is a Trotskyite.

3. Therefore Mr. Hook is a revolutionary, a Marxist, a Communist. Correct, Mr. Hook? The whole argument is sound—*formally*. But essentially? Here *only* practice, experience can decide. *And has decided already*. This practice shows the direct opposite to what formal logic shows; it shows that Mr. Hook is quite the opposite to a revolutionary, a Marxist, a Communist.

Now let us take *your* syllogism. It sounds like the following:

1. Subjective intentions are irrelevant in evaluating an action; only objective consequences must be considered.

2. A political mistake (!), by definition (! !) has counter-revolutionary objective consequences.

3. If S., our leader, makes a political mistake, he is a counter-revolutionist.

4. But S., our leader, cannot be a counter-revolutionist.

5. Therefore S., our leader, is in political matters infallible. [38]

This is your syllogism. It is, of course, even from the viewpoint of formal logic anything but spotless. But we will not bother about this. This you must decide with the people who gave you a chair of philosophy in New York University. It is their business whom they consider fit to teach philosophy—mostly to the offspring of the bourgeoisie. But, again, what does *practice* prove? It proves that our leader S. leads the greatest revolutionary movement of history, that our leader, S., *leads the building up of socialism in a sixth part of the globe with a success unheard of in history; it shows that our leader, S., is the greatest living historical personality of our time, whose greatness your puny impotent calumnies, Mr. Hook, do not even touch.* Our leader, S., will live in the memory and hearts of men when your little insignificant personality will be long, long ago committed to merciful oblivion. All this is proven by the greatest practice of world history till now. And practice, my dear Mr. Hook, is, *by your own definition*, decisive. Practice, my dear Mr. Hook, will sooner or later, answer your "neat little syllogisms" still more decisively.

Now to the other question—can there be a dialectical materialist who is not Communist?

In the same writing quoted above, in the same context, on the next page, Marx declares for everybody who can read intelligently:

---

[38] *The Meaning of Marx*, p. 129.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

" . . . For *the practical Materialist, that is for the Communist,* the question is to revolutionize the existing world. . . ." [39]

Previously he declared that a Communist is only a person who is the adherent of a revolutionary party, now he declares that the term "Communist" is equivalent to the term "practical materialist". Again natural with Marx, to be sure. You can be a "contemplative" materialist, without taking part in the affairs of this world, but you cannot be a *practical, that is, dialectical materialist* without being a Communist, that is, the adherent of "a definite revolutionary party", the Communist Party. Indeed, what kind of dialectical materialist would that be who would restrict his "dialectical materialism" to a "method of investigation" on the fields of mathematics, physics, etc., but would reject the *practical consequences* of his philosophy? Nonsense, my dear Mr. Hook.

Does this mean that nobody outside the ranks of the Communist Party "can know the truth about anything", as Mr. Hook "characteristically emphasizes"? Again nonsense, my dear Mr. Hook. Your "neat little syllogisms" in this as in other cases are nonsense, and nothing else (taken logically and not socially, in which respect they are something quite different).

Not only did I never say such a thing, but it does not follow implicitly out of my premises exposed here and elsewhere. But what I said and what I say now is that all the *correct* results in mathematics, physics and elsewhere are *dialectical results* even if their authors do not know that they are applying the dialectical method. They would arrive, however, at much more correct results if they would apply the dialectical method *consciously*. Engels stressed the same in his *Naturdialektik* and in his famous preface to the second edition of *Anti-Duehring*.

Does it again follow from this that everybody who is on this path (and many natural scientists *are* today on this path) must become a Communist in order to be able to apply consciously in his field of work the dialectical method? Certainly not. But are all who more or less apply in their special field the method of dialectical materialism already thoroughgoing and consistent dialectical materialists, which means, as was shown before, *practical* materialists whose aim it is to revolutionize the world? Decidedly not. *A dialectical materialist is a person who consciously makes Marxism, dialectical materialism—his scientific—practical and theoretical standpoint. Dialectical materialism is inseparable from Marxism and vice versa.* And so; if anybody is a dialectical materialist, he must become also a Marxist, and this leads him, I assert, *sooner or later*—as I said

[39] L.c., p. 32.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in my article in the *Labour Monthly*—into the ranks of the Party, as is proved by the example of many eminent scientists both in and outside the U.S.S.R.

The case is the same here as in the field of the political class struggle of the proletariat. Many proletarians rally around the Party, fighting under its leadership, though not Party members. The more they *develop* their *class consciousness* in this fight against capitalism under the leadership of the Communists the nearer they come to the Party and, finally, they become fully class conscious and join the vanguard of their class, the Communist Party. Not all workers are able to develop to this highest point of class consciousness. The same with many scientists who have an inclination to dialectical materialism. But the most logical amongst them will be those who draw every practical consequence from their theoretical standpoint.

The "insane logic" is in consequence wholly on your side, my dear Mr. Hook. You have not the faintest idea what the term "party" means with Marx, Engels, Lenin, what kind of a party the revolutionary party of the proletariat *is*. You do not see that *dialectical materialism is slandered and calumniated by the bourgeoisie precisely because logically it leads to revolution, to Communism.* But I must beg the reader's pardon. I was indeed on the very road to making a real error. The fact is that Mr. Hook himself slanders and calumniates "orthodox dialectical materialism" *precisely because* it logically leads into the ranks of the Communist Party.

You may slander and calumniate it together with all Trotskyites —the fact remains a fact—you are the adherent of a little *counter-revolutionary sect* while the Communist Party is the revolutionary world-party of the international proletariat, leading it to victory. The social revolution, under the leadership of this party, will change not only the existing capitalist social order, but at the same time change completely the mind of mankind on the basis of dialectical materialism. And I repeat (and you may again accuse me of a hidden theology!)—*the dialectics of actual society* (which, of course, is not to be confounded with dialectics *in nature* as you do)—*is the guarantee of the victory of the proletariat!*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religion and Communism

By EARL BROWDER

(Discussion with a Group of Students of the Union Theological Seminary on the Question of Religion and Communism, Led by Comrade Browder, on February 15, 1935)

1. *What is the official position of the Communist Party of the United States on the question of religion?*

The Communist Party takes the position that the social function of religion and religious institutions is to act as an opiate to keep the lower classes passive, to make them accept the bad conditions under which they have to live in the hope of a reward after death. From this estimate of the social role of religion it is quite clear that the Communist Party is the enemy of religion. We Communists try to do the opposite of what we hold religion does. We try to awaken the masses to a realization of the miserable conditions under which they live, to arouse them to revolt against these conditions, and to change these conditions of life now; not to wait for any supposed reward in heaven, but to create a heaven on earth; that is, to get those things which they dream about as good things, to realize them in life. It is clear that any serious movement to rouse and organize the masses to the realization of a better life now, must struggle against anything that tends to create passivity, to create the idea that it is better to submit passively to the powers that be.

On the other hand, the Communist Party is absolutely opposed to any form of coercion on religious matters. Communists are for religious freedom unconditionally. The Communists do not consider religion a private matter when it concerns revolutionists. But they consider that in relation to State power, to governmental policies, religion is a private matter. The State should not interfere with, or in any way dictate to, the religious institutions and beliefs. This explains the seeming paradox that fascism, which puts itself forward as essentially a religious movement, discloses itself in practice as a supreme denial of religious liberty, whereas Communism, which has a negative attitude towards religion, is the only social movement today that releases religion from all artificial constraints and regulations, from the denial of freedom.

In Germany we have had a very thorough and convincing demonstration of what fascism means for religion and for religious institutions. I do not think that I need to elaborate. I think everybody is familiar with what is going on in Germany. We have an equally

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thorough example of what Communism means in governmental policy towards religion in the development of more than 17 years of workers' and farmers' government in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union there is complete religious freedom. At the same time, the Communist Party, which is the government Party, carries on an active anti-religious campaign. This anti-religious campaign is purely educational. The Communists consider it would be the greatest mistake to use coercion in the fight against religion. We consider that this would defeat our own purpose. We consider that the most effective fight against religion, to remove it completely as that social factor which stands in the way of reorganizing society, is precisely the granting and guaranteeing of complete religious freedom. Complete religious freedom, of course, means the complete withdrawal of governmental support of religion and of all special privileges for religious institutions. It also means that the religious education for the young stands on its own feet without any artificial support.

As for the religious workers, the Communist Party does not make the abandonment of their religion a condition of joining the Party, even though it carries on educational work which is anti-religious. You may be interested in knowing that we have preachers, preachers active in churches, who are members of the Communist Party. There are churches in the United States where the preachers preach Communism from the pulpits, in a very primitive form, of course. In one particular church service described to me, the substance of the sermon (I do not remember the exact title) was that the Communists were the angels of God that had been sent like Moses to lead the people from the wilderness, while the representatives of the devil were the capitalists and their agents. This, of course, is not an expression of the official Communist attitude on these questions, as you will understand; but we do not expel such people from the Party. The test for us is whether such people represent the social aspirations of the masses, which may take on a religious form, but which are essentially social rebellion. When such is the case, we welcome them into our Party. Even within the Party, where we do not consider religion a private matter, we have no sort of coercion towards such religious remnants, even towards their active religious expressions.

2. *Would you say, Mr. Browder, that religion might serve a revolutionary function?*

I would say that revolutionary social movements may sometimes take on a religious form; this form, however, would not be an accelerating factor, but a retarding one. That does not mean that there could not be—and in fact there are to an increasing extent—common objectives between the Communists and religious organiza-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions, for which joint efforts and struggle would be put forward. We have seen this in the political field recently in the Saar, where some sections and prominent leaders of the Catholic church, realizing the loss of religious freedom which would be involved by incorporation in the Hitler regime, formed a united front with the Socialists and Communists to fight for the status quo in the Saar. Such concrete joint struggles will develop more and more, in which instances it could be said, from a certain point of view, that the religious movement was serving a revolutionary purpose. There it is not religion as such which serves the revolutionary purpose, but the struggle against oppression, the struggle for the right of the masses to express themselves even in their confused fashion. The struggle for this right is revolutionary, and in that sense religious organizations and movements can play a revolutionary role.

3. *What do you mean by saying religion is not a private matter where revolutionaries are concerned? I took it to mean that you would not consider anyone holding a religion to be a revolutionary; yet you said that you accepted religious workers into the Party.*

When workers come into the Party still actively religious, we accept them, not because we accept their religion, but because we know that the process of discarding religious beliefs, which are in the last analysis reactionary ones, is a more or less protracted one. We expect religion to be eliminated only in the course of a few generations of the new society, the Socialist society.

We do not consider this religious belief a private matter among revolutionaries; for those who join the revolutionary movement will have to submit all their beliefs to criticism. As members of the revolutionary movement, everything they think and everything they say affects the development of this movement which they have joined and of which they have become a part. While we do not exact of them that they give up their religion, we will subject their religious beliefs to a careful and systematic criticism, and we expect that the religious beliefs will not be able to stand up under such criticism. We would not, for example, place in the most responsible leading positions of the movement people who had strong religious beliefs. We consider that they would be dangerous because they would be left open to social influences which would endanger the direction of the masses they would have in their charge.

4. *On the other hand, since a large proportion of the American population is either connected with the church in one form or another, or even very sympathetic to the church, won't your tactics, in order to win these people over, have to take that into account pretty thoroughly? That is, are you able to present a front against religion in America comparable to that used in Russia when you are working with the American masses?*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Certainly we will have to take the religious beliefs of the masses into account and respect them—and we do. Certainly, the revolution, which will be an act of the majority of the people, will involve these religious beliefs. If religion stands as the absolute barrier to the revolution, that would postpone the revolution for a considerable period. We do not think that it does. We think religious-minded people will participate in the revolution, will help to carry through the change. This is in no way a concession in principle to religious ideas. Concessions to the desires and prejudices of masses who hold religious views—yes. The utmost respect for their right to hold these views, by all means. Complete absence of any system of coercion on these questions, by all means. In this form, taking these questions into account and respecting them, do we meet the question, but not with any concessions in principle.

5. *Suppose that the members of this group go out into the various churches that they will serve and that they, together with the people in their congregations, would become revolutionized and would feel that they were being animated by religious motives, would the Communist Party examine that evidence and give it scientific weight, and possibly modify its conviction that religion cannot be a revolutionary force?*

I would not want to hold out any hopes that the Communists will be converted to religion. For us as Communists the question is answered and, while we always examine all evidence that is brought forward scientifically, we have no reason in our experience to believe that any future evidence will modify our conclusions. We would not want to give the slightest indication that there is any prospect of a rapprochement between Communism and religion as such.

6. *Are you sure there will never be any evidence?*

While we always examine every bit of evidence that comes forward, we consider the question as settled for us. We do not expect to have to reopen it.

7. *Do you distinguish between the religious spirit and religion as it is institutionalized?*

Yes, we do.

8. *Do you think there are any values in the religious spirit not found in the church or the institution of religion?*

Values, no. But the institutionalized religion is the particular enemy. Institutionalized religion is still used by the present rulers 99-44/100 per cent for strengthening the present regime, whereas the unorganized sentiments act only as a brake upon the development of the individual.

9. *It would appear to me from your definition of policy that the very policy which you define for the Communist Party is coercion*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in a very subtle form in case the Communist Party should come into power. The Communist Party separates all education from the church and makes it all secular, and at the same time carries on an active anti-religious campaign through the secular means of education, at one time disarming all forms of religious education and at the same time arming yourself with all the power of secular education to destroy any religion that remains. Now, if propaganda is coercion, which I think most Communists say it is, is it not in that case?

No, not coercion. The whole problem of freedom of religion becomes real only when it includes freedom not to be religious. It is something that most religious institutions do not accept. I think it is one of the accepted maxims of religious institutions that the mind of the child should be molded so that he will not be capable of rejecting religion. How can such a child have religious freedom if in his formative period he is very carefully isolated from any ideas which challenge these religious beliefs? So long as the child in his formative years is controlled by religious institutions, religious liberty is denied him.

10. *Is that not true when Communists separate him from all religious subjects and subject him to Communism?*

He is free to develop his full powers, and if religion has any basic value and responds to any basic need in the human being, it certainly does not need to be imposed upon the mind of the child, but will come, as the product of a full social life.

11. *But religion is not any more needed than Communism is, and both are products of education, pretty much.*

If one takes the view of religion, then he is rejecting its basic claim. That is the Communist view of religion.

12. *Is it true that they stopped Paul Robeson from singing as soon as he sang religious songs over the radio station?*

That never happened. About a week after that lie was circulated, Paul Robeson was greeted in Moscow as an honored guest of the Soviet Union. He sang in the biggest State theaters of Moscow and declared to the newspapers his great pleasure at the comradely reception accorded him in the Soviet Union, the like of which he had received nowhere else in the world. Robeson sang every song he wanted to sing.

13. *Does not the Communist Party forbid parents to give religious instruction to their children? Are they allowed to carry on family worship and instruction of the children?*

That is all permitted.

14. *Most of the things you have said about religion are critical from the standpoint of function, but I wonder what you say from the philosophical point of view. Communism has a certain world*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

view, and particularly a conception of man's relationship to nature and to the world. You believe that man can cooperate with, and fundamentally subdue, the plain forces of nature. It seems to me that you have an irrational belief, certainly not a thoroughly scientific belief, concerning something that is distinctly in the psychological realm of thought.

It is true, Communism differs basically in its philosophy from all religions. That is, essentially all religions presuppose a power outside of the human realm directing human beings. Well, there are some religious schools that take on philosophical form, veiling their religious character; but essentially religion is the belief in a higher directing power to which man must submit himself. Often, a certain analogy has been drawn between this feature of religion and that feature of the Communist process where the individual merges himself in the great mass movement and finds his completion in a larger whole. This analogy, however, fails to bring out the essence of the difference. For, whereas in religion the individual merging with God and finding his completion in his religious unity with God becomes separated from the tasks of mankind, in the Communist larger unity he realizes thereby the tasks of taking charge of these problems himself together with his fellows.

15. *What objections would you have to a group of ministers going out and working with the people in their congregations, proclaiming that God is a revolutionary God, that God is definitely working for the establishment here on earth of a Communist cooperative society?*

We would consider such a move a distinct advance over the ordinary type of preaching. It would represent one step in the emancipation from religion.

16. *How do you fit religion into dialectics—what is the role of religion in dialectical materialism?*

Religion does not fit into a dialectical materialist system of thought. It is the enemy of it. One cannot be a thorough materialist, that is, a dialectical materialist, and have any remnants of religious beliefs. Both the older materialism that preceded the dialectical materialism and the non-materialist dialectics were in the final analysis of a religious character; but not so dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism is completely materialist and excludes religion, but, of course, it includes the explanation of religion.

17. *Could you not be convinced of dialectical materialism and consider religion of value?*

No. This was already answered in the previous question.

18. *Because when you begin to work out the unity of opposites and contradictions, you would have to have religion in the picture—*

Yes, religion must be in the picture in order to be eliminated.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

19. *Would your dialectics move towards some sort of synthesis, perhaps?*

Well, the dialectical conception of synthesis does not include carrying over obsolete and outlived forms of thought. Some of the functions that are performed by religion will certainly be performed by certain other institutions. There is no question about that. A large part of the functions of organized religion are purely social. All such functions will certainly be taken over by new forms of organizations and thinking.

20. *What will be the regenerative center of the Communist movement in about another century when it has gotten a pretty good foothold and achieved its end? What will keep it from degenerating? Enthusiasm, you know, cannot last. Will they go back to Lenin and Marx, do you suppose?*

No, the guarantees against degeneration are in the living forces of the people. They will, of course, make use of the teachings of the best thinkers of the past, but they will have their own lives. The teachings are the instruments representing merely the past growth, which are further developed by the living force of the people themselves.

21. *Does this development come through contradiction? It is a little hard to see how these contradictions could rise in a Communist world; yet according to dialectical materialism we get development through contradictions.*

The contradictions of the future society will not arise from the economic base. Contradictions in the present society arise from the economic base of society, which fundamentally divides society into warring classes. With the rise of Socialist society and its passing over into full Communism, this, of course, will be absolutely gone. That means that the class struggle will disappear as the motive force of history. In classless society, the dialectic contradictions will not assume the form of class antagonisms.

22. *I just wonder how your philosophical concepts would be able to keep these contradictions in a materialist sense in a materialist realm?*

There will be no fundamental contradictions in the material base of society under Communism.

23. *Do you mean by that that man can completely conquer nature, that such things as drought and earthquakes and floods can be completely regulated?*

Man can progressively move in that direction. For example, even in this past year the Soviet Union already demonstrated the power to control droughts. The Soviet Union was hit by droughts, as bad as those which hit the other countries, but the results were vastly different from those in the other countries. In the Soviet

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Union, where farming had already been brought into the Socialist economic structure, they were able to fight against the drought and reduce its effects so much that the total production of grain dropped only two per cent and the total collections of grain actually increased over the previous year.

Similarily, floods are generally looked upon as a natural phenomenon, but to a great extent they are social phenomena, economic phenomena. The country that suffers the most from floods is China; but anyone who has been in China must recognize that the floods of China are distinctly the product of the militaristic rule of that country and not of anything else, that they are not the product of water, that they are the product of the breaking down of the social control of that water.

24. *Are not the attitudes of devotion and sacrifice which characterize many ardent Communists religious?*

We consider them social. We consider them as rising out of the sense of social solidarity and the understanding that the individual completes himself in the social whole of which he is a product, and that isolated from it he is nothing. We believe that devotion and sacrifice do not come from the outside to mankind, but arise from the natural development of man.

25. *But you do have, that is the Communists have, a transcendent value, which, the attitude of devotion and—one might be tempted to use the word worship—indicates that these attitudes are religious?*

We have values which transcend everyday life, but which do not, however, transcend human life as a whole. Our values arise right out of life. They are not given to us from on high or from God. Our values which transcend daily life are valuable from the whole experience to the human race.

26. *Do you recognize loyalty to this ideal of great importance?*

Yes, but we should say, not loyalty to an ideal, but loyalty to ourselves. Loyalty to our best values.

27. *Would you say Communism contains the combination of the dialectic process as far as economic forces are concerned, that is economic forces as the motivating force in the change of history?*

Yes, the economic organization of society, that is, the way in which mankind makes its living, is the basic fact; that is what we mean by economics. That does not eliminate the human factor, for economics is what man does in order to provide food, clothing and shelter. Economic forces are not something which differ from that.

28. *Do you explain according to the Communistic theory that the whole process of history is due to this economic force? Then, if we attain this Communistic society then does that thing end*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the dialectic process—or would you say there would still be dialectic forces going into higher development?

According to our understanding, dialectical thought is the growing awareness of the human mind of the natural processes that go on outside of it, and human action upon nature guided by this understanding. It is not an invention of the human mind which is imposed upon the world, as Sidney Hook maintains it is. It is not merely an instrument of the mind which happens to be useful for the moment by an accident. Dialectics is this growing understanding in the human mind of the process of change and development that goes on throughout the universe. We do not limit it merely to the social sphere or to the class struggle going on now. Dialectics is universal. There is a dialectics of nature, there will always be a dialectics for every phase of life. Since life changes in forms, dialectics will never be eliminated. The dialectical process will not be eliminated in the future society. It will take new forms; it will no longer asume the form of the basic antagonisms of class society.

29. *Do you not consider that dialectical process a hypothesis at all? You consider it as an established fact?*

We consider it as the most generalized truth.

30. *Many of us are interested in seeing a new society brought about and we feel that in the ideals of Jesus we have presented a goal towards which we are moving and we feel that this gives us something of a motive power. In what way would you say a group of people feeling that way can best work towards a new society, or are they entirely up the wrong tree?*

I think that they could best serve the movement, not by concentrating too much upon the question of religion and its relation to the revolutionary movement, but by concentrating upon the practical questions of the day, as, for instance, to what extent there can be brought about a practical cooperation of all forces, religious and non-religious, for certain practical aims. In this field there is great room for work. I think, for example, that people who are essentially religious today and who see that their religious freedom is threatened by the growing reaction in America, could very well find those points in the social set-up in which they could cooperate with the non-religious forces in the fight against reaction. So that even from the essentially religious interests of such people there could be points of contact with the anti-religious revolutionary movement, such as the fight against fascism, the fight against war. Certainly war, which has become an immediate menace, is something that violates the religious teachings of the masses; and to mobilize these religious feelings for an effective struggle against war, could be very helpful.

31. *Is it because of this basic argument that the Communist*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Party is willing to enter into the American League Against War and Fascism and enter into a united front with religious groups to fight a given enemy?

Yes, in the American League the Communists are only one small section and probably a minority; but perhaps a large majority of the people in the American League are religious people, even though they did not come into the League from the religious organizations. A growing number of religious organizations have affiliated, and of all those who have become affiliated through other organizations, undoubtedly the majority are religious. Communists have no hesitation whatever in such contacts with religious people. We do not shy away from religious people at all.

32. *To what extent does the Communist Party cooperate with such church federations which are for the destruction of capitalist society?*

We have no direct contact with these organizations as such. Some of the leading individuals in these organizations are active in united front organizations where we are active. In the American League Against War and Fascism, Dr. Harry F. Ward, who is connected with the Methodist Social Service Institution—I forget the exact name—is chairman of the League. Also connected with the League is Dr. Wm. Spofford, who I believe is one of the leaders of the Church League for Industrial Democracy. Only in this indirect way have we contact with these church organizations. Indirectly all of these forces which have an anti-capitalist tendency come into a certain broad cooperation through the American League Against War and Fascism.

33. *You said that religion opposes revolutionary activity on two grounds—on the ground of belief and on the ground of its institutional form at the present time. Do you find that in its educational and organizational set-up there are tendencies towards a reactionary or passive attitude in the present belief and the desire to keep the belief reactionary?*

I would say that the outstanding feature of the development of thought in religious organizations today is the growth of revolutionary trends, and not a growth of reactionary trends. A prominent churchman said to me some months ago that the Communists are going to capture the church before we do the A. F. of L. Of course, we do not believe that; but that serves more than a check, because it tends to emphasize that there is a surging growth of social thought even within church organizations, which is essentially revolutionary thought. It is a struggle against the reactionary character of present capitalist rule; it is a revolt against that, a revolt against all of the reactionary features of capitalism which become more and more pronounced from day to day.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

34. *As regards the content of teachings that you discuss. If one were an instructor, one would assume there are forms of teachings which would tend to produce an uncritical attitude to things, an acceptance of the* status quo *in the way the thing was taught, apart from the content of what was taught. Do the Communists, in the way in which they teach their own doctrine, promote a critical attitude that can be seen in the method of teaching?*

The Communist teaching is essentially critical in its form and is not directed towards developing uncritical acceptance. Sometimes those who champion the cause of criticism do not understand this, however, because the critical approach of the Communists does not involve the splitting up of the movement into its separate parts, but on the contrary serves to weld it closer together, creating greater unity of thought, so that the very thought process and the very criticism itself become a social and not an individual act, a social act in which the individual participates, but of which the individual himself is not the expression. In the Communist Party this expresses itself in our inner-Party life. We develop our thought through discussions and a very intensive development of literature. We probably circulate more literature per member of our organization by ten times than any other organization in existence. It is a very intensive collective thought life in which is involved the whole critical approach to everything. The revolutionist is first of all a critic of the universe and everything that is in it, including himself. But we avoid at all costs the type of criticism which comes from the individualist society where criticism is purely an individual function. For the Communist, criticism is a social function, an organized function. In bourgeois society criticism is essentially a divisive process. With us it is the opposite; it is the process of consolidation of the masses.

35. *You do that by keeping this constant circulation of criticism so that whatever anyone thinks is immediately registered?*

Every view established as the view of our movement has been established as the result of the most thorough criticism. No point is ever established as the view of the Communists until it has met and answered every possible criticism that can be made. After the question has been faced and answered, we do not consider it necessary that it shall forever continue to be an open question. There are many questions which are closed for us. Therefore, those people for whom this is still an open question consider that our approach is uncritical because for us the question has already been answered.

That is only because we have met and answered these questions before.

36. *Do you claim that this increase in revolutionary temper*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which shows itself in the church is a social product and not a product of religious idealism as we do?

We consider that essentially this comes not out of the religion, but out of the conditions of life of the people who make up these bodies and who, having no better channels to express it through, express it through their religious channels.

37. *If such religious organizations enter into a united front with the Communist Party, then, in the coming years when the social revolution is successful, will the Communist Party, if it is in power, enter into a campaign against these organizations that have helped in achieving this new society?*

Communists will never carry on any kind of activity which the masses will feel is against their interests. The Communists will never carry on any kind of coercion against religious institutions. Let that be clear. In the Communist fight against religion, the Communists will limit themselves purely to ideological weapons, the weapons of argument and thought, the expression of thought.

38. *If the expression or social thinking that you find in churches is a result of the social situation of the people that are doing the thinking, why do you not find the same amount expressed in other professions? We are not patting ourselves on the back, but I think you will agree that there probably is more social thinking done in the ministry over the country than in any other profession.*

We would not say more. There perhaps is still, for the time being, a little more freedom of expression in the church than in the schools. In the schools you have laws directed against the expression of social thinking. Outside of the Catholic church, it is not yet true of the church institutions. However, I wouldn't if I were a member of these church organizations, congratulate myself too much on this. You do not know how long it will last. You may have your Dickstein Committee in the Methodist church soon and in the Protestant churches generally.

39. *When you mention the fact that the Communist group would not carry on any offensive against church institutions, are you assuming there, that church institutions would be taken over by the masses who do not control these institution at present?*

We are assuming that there would be no capitalist class organized and controlling these churches. These religious institutions would be controlled by the people who are in them. They would not be a drug in the new society, because the masses who would be in them would be actively cooperating in the new society.

40. *If a church group were definitely counter-revolutionary and acting against the Communist regime, there would be no hesitation in wiping that group out?*

It would be dealt with on political, not religious, grounds.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

41. *Would you agree that there is a gambling chance that the people in the religious organizations might make such a powerful force working for social justice in case we have a revolution, that the Communist Party might reopen the question?*

I think the more the masses now in the churches become active in the social struggle, the less need will they find for religion, so that the more they participate in the revolution, the less likelihood is there of the church becoming any essential feature of the new social set-up.

42. *Would you say that the participation in building a new social order would be a substitute for religion?*

The religion itself, even where it does not disappear, will tend to become de-institutionalized.

43. *If we are going forward into a period of fascism, is there not the possibility of religion keeping alive this spirit of revolt, because of certain factors that have always been more or less connected with religion and for that reason it may become a very powerful ally?*

I think the church as an organized institution is much more likely to fall under the control of the fascist forces.

44. *Where do you find the evil—in the capitalist or in capitalism?*

Both, the capitalist system is so essentially evil that it cannot produce good men at the top.

45. *Which is first—man or capitalism?*

Mankind is first, but not man as an individual.

46. *If in the social struggle the church does not line up with the fascist organizations, but proves to be helpful to the social revolution, will there be any recognition of that fact?*

Certainly, I think the Communists would be more happy about that than anybody else. Perhaps we will be surprised.

47. *I do not think religion today, as we understand it, will postpone happiness for the future life. We are working definitely for an abundant life here, rather than in the future. Some of us do not believe in the hereafter, and are striving to establish a good society here. I think we are working towards the same objective.*

It is incorrect to draw an analogy between the vague socio-religious aspirations and Communism. There is, of course, a positive social content accompanying some religious teachings, though not all; but these are not the feature which gives them the character of religion.

48. *I think we are arguing about terms. What we call religion you call something else. It is a matter of definition.*

I think the things that we Communists call religion are, you might put it, the "established truths" about religion. They may

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

take very subtle forms, but they will always reveal that supernatural character that we are speaking about here.

49. *Every idea has its political and social effect. You cannot have an idea without having it have some political connection. Therefore, in the Communist set-up we are open to your definite pattern of thought, ideology. Any variation from that would be counter-revolutionary, even if perhaps some people think it a higher step. In other words, the Communist pattern may become crystallized just as the capitalist system is now, so that there will be no progress, no change.*

The Communists have no fixed system in the sense of a hard and fast strait-jacket. The very essence of Communist thinking is the progressive development and realization of all the creative forces of the human mind. That is the essence of the whole Communist position of life as seen in the Communist program of practical action. Certainly, no one can say that where the Communists are the directing power, as in the Soviet Union, the mind has been put into a straight-jacket. There has never been in human history such a release of all the initiative of the individual and the development of capacities as in the Soviet Union. You can go into the Soviet Union and find men occupying the highest positions in every field of life, from the arts and sciences to government, who but five or six years ago were backward people on the land, the most backward illiterate peasants. What society in the world ever showed such an enormous development of the capacity of the individual human mind? Never in history has anything like it been seen. So, if you judge by experience, you cannot draw the conclusion that Communism tends to straight-jacket human development.

50. *A little while ago, you said the individual, as such, is not worth any consideration at all.*

I said the individual finds his development and completion only as a part of the group, as a part of society. Isolated, the individual is nothing.

51. *Do the Communists consider it psychologically possible to build up a classless society, a society in which no classes exist?*

Yes, the Communists accept that view.

52. *But in practice there is always a class.*

In the Soviet Union classes still exist, that is true. And the class struggle within the Soviet Union is still sharp. But enormous progress is being made towards the classless society precisely through that struggle. Precisely through the class struggle, do we come to the classless society. Some believe that the way to get a classless society is to stop fighting, to stop the class struggle; in this we disagree. We say that precisely the only way to come to a society without classes is through the development of the class struggle to the point where

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one particular class—the working class—obtains power. By making this one class predominant, that particular class whose historic revolutionary role is to remove the basis for class division, we can reach the classless society—but only in this way. The interests of this class lie in doing away with that material foundation of society which produces classes. Only when you abolish that which produces classes, can you abolish the classes themselves. What produces classes is the division of society into those who own and those who work. When that is abolished and those who work are also those who own, then it is only a matter of time that all classes in society will disapear.

53. *Has the Communist line on religion changed in the last three or four years, particularly in regard to the Negro in America? Now people who still maintain religious beliefs can join the Party. Is this a change in the line of the Party, or has it been a development?*

It may be said to be a change in the growing understanding of Party members on the meaning of Party line, but in the authoritative expressions of these lines there is no change. Our standard textbook is the writings of Lenin on these questions—writings that extend over many years, mostly before the revolution in Russia. There certainly is no essential change. There are, of course, certain changes in our application of this line because of the changing situation. There were, for example, a few years ago very few practical questions concerning our relations to social movements within the church because such social movements were largely non-existent. Today their existence takes on an immediate practical political importance that brings out features of the Communist attitude towards religion which were not outstanding before. But it is a change of development of events of the day rather than any change of the development of the Party line.

54. *On that same question, the official tactic perhaps for the immediate situation has been changed in regard to some of these groups, but is it not true that many of the rank and file have failed to catch up with the change? I refer to your discussion before of the inner-Party life, the discussion that goes on within the Party, it seemed that that indicated that many of the Party members, whom we consider to be Party members, do not seem to follow the official line on many of these questions. I am thinking in particular of instances in the American League where trouble seems to have come out of the failure of Party members to adopt a united front policy.*

I have an idea that probably most of such difficulties that you speak of come not from Party members, but from non-Party people who may call themselves Communists. It is true that many of our best friends are sometimes our worst enemies because they do not familiarize themselves with the correct position on fundamental questions. Of course, it is also true that not all Party members are

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fully grounded in all of these questions, for our Party reflects all the shortcomings of the working class. We have 31,000 members where a year and a half ago we had from 17,000 to 18,000 members. That means we have had 14,000 members coming into the Party in a year and a half; some have been in for only a couple of months and are certainly not experts on the policy of the Party.

55. *Is there also Communistic propaganda among the Negroes? Is there a good field there?*

Considerable. Yes, we could say that this statement was made in a recent conference. It was reported in the newspapers that a Negro religious leader had stated that the churches were in danger of losing their hold over the Negroes because of the tremendous inroads made by the Communists and had therefore called upon the churches to fight the Communists more energetically; this is some evidence of how strong is the political influence of the Communists among the Negro population generally. We have not any great organization among the Negro masses. Our organizational strength among them is growing; but the influence of our ideas, especially those ideas expressed in the practical day-to-day struggle for Negro rights, creates a tremendous effect among the majority of Negroes in America. In this sense many say that the majority of the Negroes are influenced by the Communists.

56. *Do you regard the Hebrew prophets and Jesus as historical figures, and if so, have they social significance?*

They are historical figures at least in the sense that they have played quite a role in the historical development of the human mind. Whether they were the product of the human mind or whether they had some more direct material basis is not important to us. We do not enter the field of higher criticism.

57. *How seriously is the Communist Party taking the present drive to outlaw it? Today's papers give the report of the Dickstein Committee which, if it is embodied in bills and these bills are passed, will eventually put the Communist Party out of business?*

We take them very seriously; not that we think that that will put the Communist Party out of business, because the Communist Party will never be put out of business. We take these proposals very seriously because we see that they are part of a system of development which is represented by Roosevelt's actions in the automobile situation, by the whole company union drive, by the drive to smash the trade unions and to outlaw the Communist Party as an inevitable feature of such a drive against the working class as a whole. Under the legislation proposed by the Dickstein Committee, it would become illegal to quote the Declaration of Independence.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Manifesto of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands

Against the Tydings-McDuffie National Enslavement and Starvation Act!

For National Freedom, Land, and a Workers' and Peasants' Government!

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES—MEN, WOMEN AND YOUTH—TO THE MOROS AND TO ALL NATIONAL MINORITIES:

TO ALL TOILERS, TO ALL WORKERS, PEASANTS, EMPLOYEES, STUDENTS, INTELLECTUALS, AND CITY POOR:

A monstrous crime has been committed against the people of our country. The enemies of the toiling masses have again united to betray our interests, are again attempting to defeat the cause of national independence.

The imperialist-controlled Philippine Legislature—the government of the Filipino capitalists, landlords, and usurers—has unanimously accepted the Tydings-McDuffie fake Independence Act, with its hunger quotas and new measures for intensifying the poverty, misery, and oppression of the masses.

The Quezon and Osmena factions, the "antis" and the "pros", who have demagógically posed as the "defenders" and "leaders" of national liberation, pretending to uphold the interests of our people and country, while waging a mock "battle" over the Hawes-Hares-Cutting Bill and on other issues (in order to confuse the masses and disorganize the revolutionary movement in behalf of American imperialism and their own interests), have joined hands and accepted the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Though immediately after, in the general elections in June, they again proceeded to carry out their division of labor and staged another parliamentary "fight" for the purpose of deceiving the masses and entrenching their own factions in political power.

Now a so-called constitutional convention has been convened. Its purpose is to draft a bourgeois-landlord constitution for the "Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands" in accordance with the sixteen mandatory provisions dictated by the U.S. Congress. This constitution is to provide for the further exploitation and enslave-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of the toilers and for perpetuating and protecting the interests of American big business and the Filipino ruling classes. All this is being done in the name of "independence".

The leaders of national betrayal and counter-revolution—Quezon, Osmena, Aguinaldo, M. Boxas, Sumulong and their fellow-exploiters—in spite of their bombastic and superficial "differences" and parliamentary "oppositions", hail the Tydings-McDuffie Act as the "Filipinos' Bill of Freedom", as "the crowning glory of the ideals which have motivated American occupation", as "the fulfillment of America's pledge to the Philippines", etc. And thus, once again, they reveal themselves as the treacherous enemies of the people, as the faithful lackeys of American imperialism, as traitors of our country who have completely deserted the camp of national liberation.

DOLLAR IDEALS

Let us examine the "noble ideals" which resulted in the "New Deal" for the Filipinos, in the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Act by Congress, and its ready acceptance by the Legislature of the Philippines. Then it will be crystal clear to everyone that all this noise and talk about a "Commonwealth Government" and "complete independence within ten to twelve years" is an imperialist deception, only another bourgeois national reformist swindle.

Under the camouflage of "independence", but without granting our people any genuine national freedom, which imperialism will never "grant" voluntarily, "democratic" American finance capital, which butchered tens of thousands of our countrymen in 1898-1901 and ever since has oppressed our people and strangled our country's development in its own interests, attempts to achieve the following triple aims by the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Act:

1. By promising to "grant complete independence" in the distant future, and by setting up a "transitional" puppet "Commonwealth" government, in which the administrative powers of the Filipino employers, landlords, and caciques will be increased to a certain extent, while the system of imperialist political bondage and economic exploitation will be fully preserved. American imperialism seeks to strengthen the declining mass influence and political prestige of its native servants, the Filipino bourgeoisie and landlords and their political parties, *i.e.*, Nacionalista Democrata, "Radical", etc., and to disorganize and divert into reformist parliamentary channels the growing revolutionary mass movement of the Filipino and Moro toilers who, in ever larger numbers, are seeking a solution to their problems in their own way, along the path of revolutionary struggle

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for immediate and complete national independence, land, and the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

2. Simultaneously, through the hunger quotas and export taxes prescribed in the T.-M. Act, U.S. imperialism, in behalf of the American sugar interests and big dairy farmers, drastically restricts and will finally bar the entrance of duty-free Philippine Island sugar and has put an end to the free importation of cocoanut oil from the Philippine Islands to the U.S.—this, in order further to shift the burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the Filipino and American working masses.

3. And, by coming forward as the "liberator" of the Filipinos, by proposing to "neutralize" the Philippine Islands through an international "security" treaty, and by throwing out empty pacifist phrases about "relinquishing" its military bases in the Islands—this, at the same time while it rapidly develops its military and commercial aviation bases in the Archipelago, prepares to increase the Philippine constabulary to 50,000 armed forces under the direct control of the U.S. War Department, and retains and augments its naval bases in the Islands—American imperialism strives to create a favorable ideology in the Philippines, in the Far East, and in the U.S.A. for mobilizing mass support for carrying through its predatory plans in the fast-approaching imperialist war in the Pacific, for winning hegemony in the Orient, for intervention against the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese Soviets, as well as aiming especially to place additional obstacles in the way of the seizure of the Philippines by its imperialist rival, Japan.

FILIPINO EXPLOITERS ACCEPT T.-M. ACT

Just as the Filipino ruling classes, headed by Quezon, Osmena, Aguinaldo, and the other exponents of American rule, capitulated before imperialism and betrayed the Philippine revolution in 1901; just as they deceived large sections of our people in 1915 into placing faith in "American ideals, democracy and justice", by accepting the imperialist shackles of the Jones Act; just as they have consistently bowed before, and surrendered to, American finance capital—simultaneously while striving to utilize the national liberation aspirations of the masses in order to secure from their American masters certain concessions for themselves for securing a bigger share of the profits made from robbing the masses—so today, the Filipino exploiters and their national reformist parties and organizations attempt to deceive our people to abandon the revolutionary struggle for national independence under the guise that "independence has been granted".

But, behind the demagogic maneuvers and "freedom" phrase-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mongering of these gentlemen, behind their counter-revolutionary activity and policy to dupe the toilers into slavishly accepting the vicious T.-M. Act, are concealed their real aims and intentions. For the Filipino capitalists, landlords, and usurers who are bound by a thousand financial and economic ties to American imperialist rule and exploitation, and through whom American capitalism maintains and seeks to strengthen its colonial regime; fearing the advance of the anti-imperialist movement and class struggles of the workers and peasants more than imperialist domination; afraid lest the revolutionary movement for national emancipation will also sweep away their semi-feudal landholdings, class privileges, and system of enrichment; trembling in fear of the approaching establishment of a Free and Independent Philippine Workers' and Peasants' Republic, which will not only put an end to national oppression, but will give the land to the landless and peasants, food to the hungry, and place all State power in the hands of the workers and peasants—these enemies of the people, the Filipino ruling classes—in order to hinder and crush the anti-imperialist mass movement and struggle for genuine independence, land and power, to protect their own interests and those of imperialism—support the Tydings-McDuffie Act, and proclaim it as their own, proclaim that "independence is here", call upon the masses to adopt a bourgeois-landlord constitution and to submit to the chains of the new imperialist slave act.

Truly, bourgeois national reformist treachery knows no limit! The traitors of national freedom shamelessly bargain away the independence, integrity and resources of our country in the name of "freedom", as they seek to convert us and our children into permanent colonial peons.

So much for the "ideals" which inspired the passage of the T.-M. Act and its acceptance by the Filipino running dogs of imperialism. Now let us further tear the mask off this sham independence bill and see, concretely, what the T.-M. Act "gives" to our people.

Today, as never before, every worker, peasant and toiler in the Philippines, all honest anti-imperialist fighters, must clearly understand that behind the empty words of establishing a "Commonwealth" government and of "granting complete independence" in the unknown future, is concealed the colonial rule of American imperialism. Under both the so-called "Commonwealth", and in the projected puppet "Republic" of twelve to thirteen years hence—the basic power of American capitalism in the Islands is to remain intact. For the financial, economic, and vital military power of the U.S.A. in the Philippines is, according to the T.-M. Act, to be preserved and strengthened, irrespective of the external form of colonial enslavement, whether marked "Commonwealth" or "Republic".

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The T.-M. Act sanctifies and ensures the present and future "inalienable" rights, privileges, and sovereignty of all American-owned and controlled corporations, banks, transport systems and commercial enterprises which dominate and strangle our economy and national existence. It places the Filipino exploiters' seal of approval upon the financial monopoly of American capitalism by guaranteeing the payment of all national, State, and private debts to the American bankers who engineered and reaped millions from robber loans and deals forced upon our people at the point of the bayonet. Likewise, it guarantees American "approval" for all future State loans and transactions which may be undertaken by our country.

The T.-M. Act, accepted by the servile Philippine Legislature, grants the U.S. military forces free right to intervene and occupy our territory at any and all times, a la Cuba and the Platt Amendment. It specifies that all Filipinos, government officials, and military forces shall pledge full allegiance to and be subservient to American rule and command. It grants the U.S. President, Supreme Court and Congress full power of veto over all Philippine legislation. It specifies that the future government of the Philippine "Republic" shall be based entirely upon the sixteen mandatory imperialist provisions determined by the U.S.A. A part of the American military forces is supposed to be withdrawn from the Islands, but the Philippine constabulary is to be tremendously increased and firmly placed, under American hegemony. The foreign relations of the Philippines are to remain under the full jurisdiction of the U.S.A., both under the "Commonwealth" and the promised "Republic". The omnipotent Governor-General is to be abolished, formally, but is to function under the title of "High Commissioner".

Hidden behind the smoke-screen "Commonwealth" government and the proposed future "Republic", the T.-M. Act prescribes that the Filipino capitalists and landlords will continue to govern, completely controlled by American imperialism. The wealthy exploiters, such as Quezon, Osmena, and Aguinaldo, are to remain in power, and all anti-working class and peasant legislation is to continue in force. Now, as in the past, the majority of the people cannot effectively participate in the government.

Under the new imperialist "independence" measure, tens of thousands of unemployed are to remain "free" to starve, the workers to be "free" to accept wage cuts, dismissals, and worsened conditions; the peasants are to be made permanently "independent", as paupers torn from the land they have tilled.

The hated friars and their huge landed estates are to be exempted from taxation. But the tax burdens of the masses are to be tremendously increased to maintain the Filipino exploiters in office, to refund the "national" debt, and to build up a huge Philippine Island army

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under U.S. domination. The land hunger of the peasants, tenants, and agricultural workers is to remain unsatisfied. The restriction of sugar and cocoanut production, and the export taxes levied in the T.-M. Act, which are aimed principally against the tao and plantation workers, already have resulted, and will result in the further disintegration of peasant production, in greater dismissals of central and plantation workers, and will lead to the expropriation of additional tens of thousands of tenants and poor peasants off the land—all for the benefit of the American and Filipino plantation owners and landlords, hacenderos and caciques, friars and the Philippine National Bank whose landholdings continue to grow at the expense of the masses.

Under the "freedom" granted by the T.-M. Act, the staunch fighters for real national independence and social emancipation—such as the imprisoned Communist leaders Evangelista, Felio, etc., hundreds of militant strikers such as the three taxi drivers ———; the heroic Colorum and Moro national revolutionists; the thousands of workers and peasants imprisoned for defending their class interests, for the non-payment of taxes, debts and rent—all are destined to languish in Bilibid, Corregiedor, and other dungeons of the American slave rulers and their Filipino lackeys. Genuine freedom of organization, meeting, speech, strike and demonstration for the workers and peasants and their revolutionary organization is, as now, to be denied.

Yet the landgrabbers and moneylenders, the American sugar plantation and central owners, the Filipino landlords, hacenderos and caciques, the parasitic friars are, now as before, to be allowed full freedom of activity and exploitation. The notorious bourgeois swindlers like T. Confessor, Alunan, Sineson, etc., are guaranteed full rights to continue to graft and grow fat at the peoples' expense. The tobacco manufacturers, mine-owners, lumber and oil mill proprietors are to be assured continued and greater freedom of opportunity for lowering the wages and living standards of the workers, for increasing profits, for employing police, constabulary, the courts, and gangsters for smashing strikes, demonstrations and all militant mass actions of the toilers.

THE ISSUE IS CLEAR

The "national freedom" granted by the U.S. Congress and endorsed by its Filipino servants, is only an imperialist lie, only a bourgeois national-reformist hoax. The "autonomous" "Commonwealth Government of the Philippines", like its proposed successor, the bourgeois-landlord Philippine Island "Republic" modeled on the lines of the T.-M. Act, will be as "Independent" as the American dominated and controlled Cuban, Haitian, and Nicaraguan "Repub-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lics". It will be as "free" as "Manchukuo", puppet colony of the Japanese war lords and capitalists.

Such "national independence" as granted in the T.M. Act or in any other imperialist "emancipation" acts or decrees can deceive only those people who want to be deceived. It can be championed only by those people who want to keep us as a nation of slaves in our own land.

Only traitors of national liberation of the breed like Quezon, Osmena, Aguinaldo, and M. Royas can welcome and support such a "charter of Freedom" as the T.-M. Act—a "charter" which upholds the power and rule of the American oppressors and the Filipino exploiters, guarantees full exploitation of the toilers, and prepares to plunge our people as human cannon fodder in defense of American Far Eastern "interests" in the coming imperialist war.

Only such classes as the bourgeoisie and landlords and their national reformist Nationalist, Democrata, etc., parties, which have betrayed the interests of our people and country and have completely gone over to the camp of imperialism, can sing paeans of praise glorifying their American masters and the hunger quotas and national oppression measures of the T.-M. Act.

The issue is clear, national independence does not nor will not come as an imperialist gift.

Our experience and history show that no imperialist power, least of all powerful dollar imperialism, has voluntarily relinquished or ever will voluntarily relinquish its colonial possessions, its prized sources of monopoly markets and fields of investment; though under pressure of the revolutionary mass movement and because of international factors, imperialism may, as in the Philippines, make certain small and temporary concessions to the native exploiters; including the modification of the external governmental forms of its domination, masking its colonial rule, its financial, economic and military power, behind the empty cloak of a "Commonwealth" or "Dominion" government, or even behind the facade of a pseudo "Republic" —this, in order to disrupt and retard the advance of the national-revolutionary movement.

There is no salvation for us, our children, our country, except by revolutionary struggle. National freedom, land and a Workers' and Peasants' Republic have to be fought for and won. For under imperialism, the basic problems of the toilers are decided by force and by revolutionary mass force alone.

The issue is clear. Just as national independence will never be "granted" by American imperialism, so national independence will never be secured as a result of peaceful, "constitutional" methods, as a result of national reformist leadership and policy.

The whole experience of our country, as well as international

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

experience, has proved that the line and leadership of the Filipino bourgeoisie and "liberal" landowners and their counter-revolutionary national reformist parties and organizations—notwithstanding their periodic so-called "differences" and legislative "fights", such as on the issue of the Hawes-Cutting Bill, the essential features of which are embodied in the unanimously accepted T.-M. Act; unprincipled "differences" which arise solely over the question of division of profits, spoils and offices, "differences" carefully calculated by the ruling classes for the purpose of dividing the ranks of the masses—thus their line and leadership have only shackled our people and country to imperialist domination and semi-feudal landownership and exploitation.

The treacherous national reformist policy of legislative petitions and "independence missions", of relying upon the "good will" of the American oppressors, of diverting the national liberation movement into legal, parliamentary channels, stands revealed as a policy of national disgrace and betrayal which has led and can only lead our country along the path of colonial enslavement and economic chaos, perpetuating and supporting all that is medieval and backward in economic and social relations.

The toilers must understand that national freedom cannot be won as long as the Filipino capitalists and landlords—whose class interests are subservient to, and interwoven with imperialist rule and exploitation and dependent upon American military support—hold the reins of the government and retain their semi-feudal privileges and system of landownership; as long as they and their national reformist parties succeed in demagogically maneuvering on the issues of independence and are allowed to mislead the national liberation movement into reformist, parliamentary paths in the interests of American imperialism and themselves.

To march forward against imperialism to national emancipation is impossible as long as we carry on our backs our "own" exploiters, the Filipino ruling classes, who use these slogans of national independence as catchwords only to enrich themselves and to fasten the bonds of national oppression tighter around our necks.

The issue is clear. To obtain national freedom we, the workers, peasants, and toilers must direct our blows both against imperialism and the Filipino exploiters, and put an end to imperialist oppression, landlordism, and all remnants of semi-feudalism. We must mercilessly isolate and unmask before the people the entire counter-revolutionary policy and activities of the Nationalista, Democrata, "Radical", etc., parties and of the national reformist leaders in the trade unions and peasants' organizations, *i.e.*, C.O.F., Balmoris Federation, Iloila Federation, Palijan Bayan, the "Left" "Sakdalista", So-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cialist Peasant League, Manshans National Confederation of Workers and Peasants, etc., etc.

Similarly, it is clear that to uproot all vestiges of feudalism; of semi-feudal landlordism and tenancy; of the Kasama, Takalan Talindwa and Takipan systems, of rent in kind and debts peonage, etc.,—we must simultaneously wage a struggle against the plantation owners, hacenderos, landlords, friars and caciques, and against American imperialism which maintains and attempts to strengthen the system of semi-feudal landownership and exploitation upon which its colonial regime is built.

Only a joint, united revolutionary struggle simultaneously against American imperialism and its native agents—the Filipino employers, landlords, caciques, and friars—can liberate our country from imperialist bondage, can place State power in the hands of the revolutionary people—the workers and peasants—can give land to the landless and peasants, can bring about a radical improvement in the position of the working class and all toilers.

The issue is clear. Only the toilers themselves can save themselves and our country. All of us must realize that our problems, the problems of the toilers; the problems of food, land, national independence, and workers' and peasants' power, can only be finally solved by a great armed uprising of the people, led by the most revolutionary class, the working class, in close alliance with the exploited peasantry—an alliance headed by the revolutionary proletarian party, the Communist Party. Our problems can only be finally solved by the violent overthrow of the rule of American imperialism and the Philippine exploiters, by the revolutionary establishment of an Independent Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Philippines.

THE VICTORIOUS SOVIET WAY

This is the Soviet way, the only way to complete national and social emancipation, the way pointed out, organized and led by the Communist International and its Philippine Section, the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands. This is the road to victorious Soviet Power which already triumphs in the U.S.S.R. and in great parts of China. This is the highway of victorious revolutionary struggle being taken by the workers and exploited of all lands, under the banner of the struggle for Soviet Power—the Red Banner unfurled by the Communist International.

Already the Soviet way has proved victorious in the Soviet Union. There, in the land of the Soviets, the country of victorious proletarian revolution, 160 million workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class and its Bolshevik vanguard, the C.P.S.U. have overthrown the capitalists, landlords, and their government, and have achieved complete *national and social emancipation*. The dic-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tatorship of the proletariat has been established and a workers' and peasants' Soviet Government created. They have placed all factories, banks, mines, and transport systems in the hands of the workers. They have put an end to landlordism and all feudal remnants, have nationalized the land and created gigantic Socialist collective and State farms. There the scourge of unemployment, poverty, and debts has been wiped out.

The Soviets have liberated the people and nations formerly oppressed by the Czar and foreign imperialism. A victorious proletarian cultural revolution is being completed. And under the Leninist leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the workers and collective farmers have triumphantly carried through the First Socialist Five-Year Plan and today are achieving new unparalleled successes in Socialist construction, in further improving the standard of living and cultural level of the working masses and are firmly building a classless Socialist society. The Soviet Union—the land of proletarian dictatorship—is the Socialist fatherland of all the toilers and oppressed, the bulwark of Socialism and peace among the nations.

Already in big areas of China, under the leadership of the Chinese working class and its Communist Party, Soviet districts embracing tens of millions of toilers have been established. Powerful and heroic workers' and peasants' Red Armies have been created and are engaged in a mortal struggle against world imperialism and the Chinese capitalists, landlords, and militarists, for establishing a unified, independent China, free from imperialist rule and bourgeois-landlord domination.

The Chinese Soviets—the future of the Philippines—have placed all power in the hands of the workers and peasants. Imperialist rule and exploitation have been abolished in the Soviet territory. The land of the gentry, landlords, and militarists has been seized and distributed without compensation to the peasants, workers, and Red Army men. All debts of the peasants, workers, and toilers have been annulled. Predatory taxes have been abolished and a single progressive tax has been adopted. Unemployment has been curtailed and all jobless receive relief and social insurance.

Workers' control over production has been established. Wages and working conditions have been tremendously improved. A gigantic cultural revolution has been inaugurated. The Soviet revolution, in spite of its uneven development, steadily spreads and gains new strength.

The Chinese Soviet Republic—the democratic State dictatorship of the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the working masses and its C.P.Ch.—supported by the international proletariat, struggling and liberating China from the yoke of imperialism and feudal landlord-bourgeois domination, is simultaneously laying the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

foundation for the transformation of the Chinese agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, after the necessary preparatory stages, to a higher, a Socialist phase.

Throughout the world the working class and exploited rally under the banner of Soviet Power and seek a revolutionary way out of the crisis, out of the hell of poverty and starvation, oppression and exploitation brought about by imperialism.

And in the Philippines—as in all dependent and colonial, and as in the capitalist countries—only a Soviet Government will and can liberate our people and country from the double yoke of imperialism and the Filipino exploiters.

THE PHILIPPINE SOVIETS

For only through the revolutionary restablishment of the Soviet Power of the workers and peasants, representing the vast majority of the people, and suppressing all exploiters and parasites, only through the Soviets can we, the Filipino, Moro, etc., masses solve in our own way and interests the questions of national freedom, land, power, food, and the eight-hour working day.

For the Soviets—the mass organs of armed insurrections and the future organs of the State power of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants; the revolutionary councils democratically elected by the broadest masses of the workers, peasants, and toilers, working under the direct control of the revolutionary people and carrying out its decisions by the hands of the masses themselves—will concentrate all power in the hands of the workers and peasants.

From the first day of their existence, the Philippine Soviets will proclaim and ensure the complete national emancipation of the people of the Philippine Islands. They will give the Moros full right to self-determination, even to State separation, and will grant equal rights to all national tribes and minorities.

For the Soviet Power of the workers and peasants is the only State power which can rouse the widest masses, can and will support and wage a genuine people's armed national revolutionary struggle against imperialism, can and will arm the people and create a workers' and peasants' Red Army.

The revolutionary Soviet power will confiscate and nationalize all imperialist enterprises, centrals, banks, and plantations. It will annul all national and State debts contracted by the bourgeois-landlord Philippine Legislature for the benefit of the American bankers, thereby freeing the people at once from a gigantic burden.

The Philippine Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government will from its inception decree and carry out the abolition of the landholdings of the imperialists, Filipino landlords, caciques, and friars. It will destroy the whole system of semi-feudal landlordism and ex-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ploitation. It will assist and protect the revolutionary peasants and agricultural workers and their committees of struggle by seizing and distributing the land, animals, implements, and irrigation systems of the landlords and plantation owners for the benefit of the poor and middle peasants and agricultural workers.

The Soviets will immediately annul all debts of the peasantry, workers and city poor and will forcibly prohibit usury. They will abolish the present cedula, land, irrigation and property taxes, and will levy a single, progressive tax. They will put a stop to peonage, forced labor, and tributes.

The Soviet Government of the Workers and Peasants of the Philippines will from the outset establish workers' control over production. It will immediately put into force a labor code, prepared by the workers themselves, and will basically raise the wages of all workers and employees. It will guarantee equal pay for equal work for men, women, and youths. It will ensure two months' vacation with full pay to all women workers, before and after childbirth. It will shorten the working day in all industries, including agriculture, to a maximum of eight hours, and provide an annual two weeks' vacation with full pay. It will further shorten the working day for youths under 20 and will completely abolish child labor.

The Soviets will establish a large State social insurance fund, including unemployment, sick benefit and old age insurance, and will provide either work at union wages or immediate unemployment relief and insurance, for all jobless and disabled toilers and their families during the entire period of unemployment or disability. They will inaugurate a national housing construction plan and provide the workers, peasants, and city poor with modern and sanitary dwellings.

The Soviet Power of the people will carry through without a moment's delay all necessary measures for fundamentally raising the cultural level of the toilers. It will guarantee to the peoples, including each national tribe and minority, the unrestricted privilege to develop and use their own language in the Soviets, schools, and mass organizations. It will provide free elementary, technical, and higher education for all workers, peasants, toilers, and their children. It will turn the bourgeois printing plants and publishing houses into enterprises serving solely the interests of the masses. It will open the theatres for the benefit of the entire people. It will put an end to ignorance, illiteracy, and superstition.

These are only the first steps which we will take after the revolutionary establishment of our own power, the Soviet Power of the workers and peasants, on the basis of which, under the hegemony of the working class and headed by the C.P., and directly supported by the international proletariat and the countries of victorious pro-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

letarian dictatorships, after completing the agrarian, anti-imperialist revolution, we will proceed to build a Socialist society.

WE, THE TOILERS, MUST DECIDE !

Today as never before, every worker, peasant, and all toilers, every honest intellectual, every genuine fighter for independence and land—all must realize that our people and country now stand at the crossroads:

Either the continuation of the ruthless dictatorship of American imperialism and its native agents the Filipino bourgeoisie and landlords,—

Or the overthrow of the imperialist, semi-feudal regime and the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants on the basis of Soviets. This is how history has placed the question. There is no other choice.

Either the bourgeois national reformist policy of passive resistance, of parliamentarism and missions, of national disgraces and surrender; of acceptance of the T.-M. Act and continued colonial enslavement, political reaction, land grabbing and hunger, starvation and intensified exploitation—

Or the Communist policy of revolutionary mass struggle in defence of our daily needs and interests, leading up to the victorious forceful establishment of a free and united Philippine Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic. This is how the question stands.

Either the policy of national betrayal, capitulation and, dividing the ranks of the masses followed by the Nationalista, Democrata, etc., parties and all the bourgeois landlord blocs and political factions, and by the national reformist leaders in the C.C.F., Balmoris Federation, Ilioli Federation, Sakdalistas, Palijan, Bayan, etc.—

Or the revolutionary policy as organized and led by the C.P.P.I. of militant united front mass actions of all workers and peasants in all organizations—reformist and revolutionary; of the united fighting front of the toilers in all factories, centrals, mills, wharves, ships, railway shops, plantations, and villages against our common enemies: American imperialism and the Filipino exploiters. This is the decisive question.

Either the policy of Filipino bourgeois national chauvinism, of national hatred and prejudices, of dividing the Filipino workers and peasants from the Moro, Chinese, etc., toilers, of attempting to isolate the Filipino masses from the international revolutionary movement—the policy of national reformism and its trade union and peasant "leaders"—

Or the Communist policy of proletarian internationalism, of the revolutionary unity of all workers, peasants and toilers in the Philippines in joint struggles in defense of our common interests; of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

establishment of a revolutionary alliance of the masses of the Philippines with the international proletariat and colonial peoples, particularly with the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R., and China, and with the American working class and toilers, who together with us are waging a mighty revolutionary struggle against our common oppressors, are mobilizing under the leadership of the C.P.U.S.A., to storm the citadels of American capitalism in order to liberate themselves and the Filipino, Cuban, Haitian, etc., masses from the yoke of American finance capital. Proletarian internationalism—this is vital for the revolution, for the victorious solution of our problems.

Either the line of national reformist defeatism and surrender before the offensive of the foreign and Filipino capitalists and landlords, of legislature petitions to Congress, of governmental collaboration, etc.—

Or the revolutionary policy as proposed and led by the Communist Party and supported by the revolutionary trade unions and peasant organizations: a policy of economic and political mass strikes against wage cuts, dismissals, arrests, evictions, tax collections, and each act of national and class oppression and for higher wages and the enforcement of the 8-hour day, for the release of the Communist and all political prisoners, for full freedom to organize, assemble, strike, and picket, for the rejection of the T.-M. Act and the projected bourgeois-landlord Constitution, etc.; of factory, street, and village mass meetings and political demonstrations for immediate relief to the unemployed and peasants, for the cessation of tax and debt collections, and for mass refusals to pay taxes, rents and debts—and against police brutality and the use of the police, constabulary and troops—against the workers and peasants, against the closing of the schools and for free education, food and clothing to the children of the workers, peasants, and city poor; against imperialism and imperialist terror and political reaction in all its forms; of mass resistance against arrests, against evictions of the peasants and tenants from the land which they have tilled; against the confiscation of the crops, land, property of the workers, peasants and city poor for non-payment of rent, taxes, and debts; of the organized mass seizure of rice and other food supplies for the benefit of the jobless and hungry from the warehouses and stores of the American importers and exporters, plantation owners, from the merchants, hacenderos, caciques, and friar estates, etc.—a militant, united front policy embracing the widest masses in stubborn defense of our immediate demands and economic and political rights; a revolutionary policy of militant mass actions, of coordinating, extending and raising to higher political levels each given partial and local struggle by which, under the leadership of the working class and its Communist vanguard—the C.P.P.I.—we can forge further ahead along the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revolutionary highway which alone can lead us to victory in the struggle for national and social emancipation. This is the road we must travel.

And this is why our decision, the decision of the majority of the people, of the workers, peasants, and toilers—is and can only be for following the Soviet path pointed out and led by the C.P.P.I. This is why we are and must march forward, independently under working class leadership, in close union with the peasantry and exploited toilers, under the banner of the Communist Party; forward in united revolutionary mass struggles in defense of our immediate needs and interests, and mobilize and prepare our forces for victory in the coming decisive national revolutionary and class battles for national independence, land, and the Soviet Power of the workers and peasants.

Against the imperialist Tydings-McDuffie Act of starvation, national oppression and war! Against the bourgeois-landlord constitution!

For the complete national independence of the peoples of the Philippines!

For the Soviet Power of the workers and peasants!

All land to the people!

Away with all traitors of national freedom! Away with all saboteurs of the revolutionary united front of the toilers! Down with the treacherous policy of bourgeois national reformism, the policy of national disgrace and surrender!

Join and support the Communist Party of the Philippines—the defender of the interests of the masses, the sole organizer and leader of the revolution for national and social liberation! Join and build up militant factory committees and united mass trade unions of class struggles, active village peasant committees of struggle and strong anti-imperialist committees of action!

Long live the revolutionary mass struggle for national freedom, land, and a Philippine Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic!

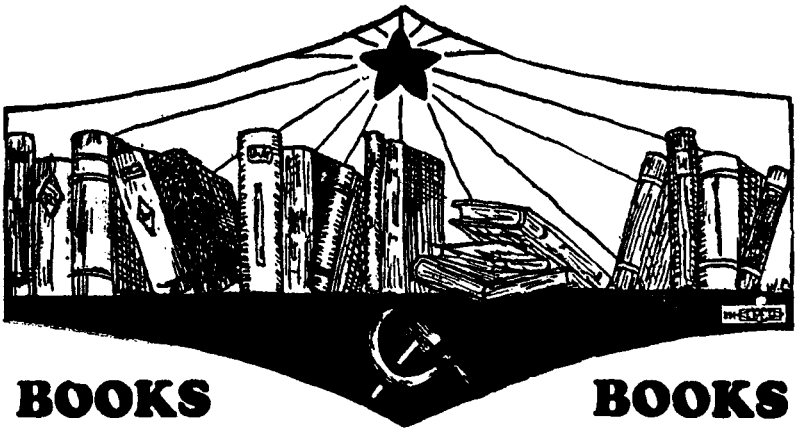
Against imperialist war! For the defense of the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.), the Chinese people and Chinese Soviet Republic!

Long live the fraternal revolutionary alliance of the toilers of the Philippines with the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R., America, China and with the proletariat and exploited of all countries!

Long live with victory of the world proletarian revolution!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES (SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEW DEAL.

By Benjamin Stolberg and Warren Jay Vinton, 85 pp. Harcourt, Brace & Co.

By HARRY GANNES

SOME estimates of the New Deal remind one of the blind man and the elephant. At first Norman Thomas stumbled on its rump, and believed the animal was backing up to Socialism. William Green felt along the tusks and declared the big trusts would be gored into union recognition.

After these sad experiences, two other historically blind investigators, hand in hand, approach the animal. And with their petty-bourgeois insight they write a very little book with a very big title.

Now one dealing with the New Deal should at least be expected to heed the principle of the Roman law, *caveat emptor* (let the buyer beware). Roosevelt had a lot of baloney to sell to the workers. Four years of crisis had passed like a juggernaut over the American land. Some one is required to break the spell of fear, to promise a fundamental reformation of capitalism, and at the same time to save, and if possible, strengthen, the very foundations of the system, that is to say, monopoly capitalism, the power of the big trust.

At the very outset let it be said that to try to estimate the New Deal without a Leninist understanding of imperialism and the State is a hopeless proposition. As proof of this we can cite the thesis, articles, editorials of the Communist Party both before and in the early stages of the New Deal as better actual pictures of what is going on today than the pile of junk that it peddled by the Chases, Soules, and Stolbergs after nearly two years of actual observation of the New Deal.

Let us reach into the politico-economic gems of our two authors: "The New Deal is merely the capture of government by 'scientific' social work. It is merely a remodelling of the White House into a new Hull House." (p. 12.)

In short, this is merely nonesense. The class estimate of the New Deal, according to the authors, is somewhat as follows: The Roosevelt victory represents the victory of the petty-bourgeoisie. They took over State power with Roosevelt. More than that. The "Roosevelt administration really is . . . Social Democratic government". (p. 21.) Here this petty-bourgeois estimate

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coincides with the theories of the American Trotskyites, in their latest effusions on the New Deal. In short, their belief is that the Roosevelt government is really an American type of Social-Democratic government, which was put over on American finance capital.

> "No Social Democratic government, which the Roosevelt administration really is," they say, "can hope to put over a New Deal unless at every moment and at every move the arrogance of Big Ownership is deflated, its morale beaten down, its economic power defied, and its social control implacably resisted."

Thus, for the authors of the present book under discussion, the State apparatus is a sort of neutral football, kicked one way by the workers and the petty bourgeoisie—usually out of bounds; and another way by the big trusts, usually over the goal posts.

"It is not the futilitarians of the New Deal", they write, "but the tough realists of Big Industry who instinctively appreciate the nature of monopoly capitalism." In other words, when Roosevelt and his gang of brain trusters wrote the N.R.A. in order to speed the recovery of the big trusts at the expense of the rest of the population, they were just innocent babes in the woods not realizing what they were doing.

When Roosevelt, for instance, helps the auto and steel trusts to smash the threatening strikes, when he imposes the company unions on them, and when he steps out from behind Donald Richberg and says, Yes, I'm the guy; what are you going to do about it? they want us to believe that it is all done unconsciously.

Since the publication of the book we have such further evidence as Roosevelt's action on the "prevailing wage" battle around the works bill wherein he adopts the White Springs program of Big Business. There is the latest N.R.A. report (not available to our authors at the time they wrote) showing that wages were 40 per cent below the 1926 level, while profits were 50 per cent above. But yet all of this bears out the Communist analysis of the New Deal just as surely as fascism is contained within the womb of the New Deal.

But according to the analysis under consideration, the "Roosevelt Social Democratic administration", receivers on behalf of the petty bourgeoisie, "in its efforts to safeguard the scattered property interests of the middle class the New Deal has *pari passu* reintrenched Big Finance. Even stranger is the fact that in its efforts to restore the wages of the working classes it has reintrenched Big Industry."

This is only strange to those who expected Roosevelt to do as his demagogy implied. The Communists very clearly pointed out beforehand that the New Deal was an inflationary, regimented means of smashing down living standdards, under the guise of codes and further trustification, in order to hike the profits of the big trusts.

> "Into the N.I.R.A.", continue the authors, "it [the New Deal] wrote side by side the programs of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Federation of Labor. . . . Unfortunately for this idyllic scheme Big Business knew exactly what it wanted and had the strength to get it."

The government itself here is considered as a benevolent, but ineffectual umpire. Of course, it was part of the "scientific" social work to put Gen. Hugh S. Johnson, a Morgan-Baruch agent, at the head of the N.R.A. It

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

undoubtedly was sheer accident to follow him up by Clay S. Williams of the tobacco trust and to do the same all along the line.

Roosevelt's own action in supporting the newspaper trusts (just one of his consistent deeds) against the right of a worker (the Jennings case) in the opinion of the authors, should just be put down as a Social-Democratic deviation!

That the whole capitalist State apparatus, while proclaiming itself impartial, if not indeed the instrument of the "forgotten man", did not cease for a moment, throughout the whole history of the New Deal, to strengthen the power and wealth of the trusts, while moving with gigantic force against the proletariat who sought to resist and defend itself—this seems to have been totally lost to these gentlemen who believed that the petty-bourgeoisie was safely ensconced in the White-Hull House.

The imperialist touchstone of the New Deal is hardly mentioned by them. That is the fact that Roosevelt spared no pains or money to prepare American imperialism for a new war of plunder to enrich the trusts in their drive for markets, colonies, sources of raw materials, and capital investment. Of its fascist developments they have nothing to say. They just can't see anything new in the New Deal, not even the rapid dwindling of bourgeois democracy, and the ever-emerging more open, brutal, chauvinist dictatorship of the most reactionary finance capitalists.

It is typical, also, of the views of the authors that in treating of the classes under the New Deal they should treat of the middle class first. For them this is logical, since the New Deal is the middle class in power but doesn't know how to use its power. "The truth is that the middle class is hopelessly caught in the deepening struggle between capital and labor. . . . The tragedy of the New Deal is that the middle class, which it politically represents, immobilizes it psychologically; and thus demobilizes it as an effective force in combating Big Ownership."

Which, according to any Hitler textbook, is good raw material for fascist ideology. It should not surprise anyone that the fascist Radio Priest, Father Coughlin plagarized generously from the book we are reviewing for his alleged assault on the New Deal.

The chapter on "The Workers" argues that the New Deal treated with Labor (that's what they call the top officialdom of the A. F. of L.) because the labor movement "so faithfully reflects its [the New Deal's] own middle-class ideals".

> "The reason the labor oligarchy has failed to make headway under the New Deal", they go on, "is because it is afraid to fight. When the rank and file of the automobile workers were restlessly demanding a strike for union recognition, Mr. Green contrived with the Administration to mediate away the opportunity. Exactly the same thing happened in the steel industry. Exectly the same thing happened in the great textile workers' strike."

The implication is, of course, had the leaders fought, the "middle-class Social Democratic government", would use its State power to help the workers. Such nonesense grows out of the fundamental estimate of the class character of the Roosevelt regime and the whole purport of the New Deal. Through the N.R.A. the auto, steel, and textile trusts were able to blackjack the workers into company unions, to force the general level of real wages down. When the workers were ready to strike, or did go on strike, the Roosevelt regime, acting for the big trusts, under the slogan of preserving the "recovery

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

program", called in the A. F. of L. top leadership in order to utilize them against the workers and in the interests of the big trust owners.

When the preliminary advances of big capital were gained after the crest of the huge strike wave of 1933-34 was beaten back, the courts came up to add the finishing touches to the N.R.A. by the Weirton and Kentucky coal case decision. Then Donald R. Richberg followed up with his testimony on the "revised" N.R.A. showing it clearly and more openly for what it was intended to be—an instrument of monopoly capitalism in the period of inflation and sharper attacks on labor to smash back the inevitable resistance of the workers.

Concluding and summarizing the New Deal and The Workers, the authors utter their surprise: "In short, the New Deal has not strengthened labor as a force in our social polity, and has been unable and unwilling to use it as a weapon for the redistribution of the national income downwards."

Only fools or knaves could actually believe or assert that the Roosevelt regime had the intention of using the working class to help it pull gilded rabbits out of the silk hats of the money changers.

In the final chapter of the book, "Stalemate", the authors bewail the fact that "social planning on socialist lines, has been sedulously avoided". Imagine self-styled economists actually expecting the Roosevelt government to plan capitalism "on socialist lines". We are sure the steel, auto, coal, aluminum trusts, which were so willing to allow the workers to join trade unions, and hastened to raise wages, were only awaiting word from Washington to submit to "socialist planning". It's all just one great big misunderstanding. Roosevelt just sedulously avoided "planning on socialist lines". Had he grasped this opportunity, all would be saved. Planning social production pre-supposes first of all ending capitalist private property; ending private property pre-supposes the proletarian revolution. Roosevelt's tripe about planning was of a piece with the rest of his demagogy to dazzle the masses while their packets were being picked in the interest of monopoly capitalism. "Planning" was forced into the phraseology of Roosevelt and other capitalist Statesmen because of the marvels of achievement in the Soviet Union, and was buried as hurriedly as possible when the general crisis of capitalism bgan to generate its deeper and more fundamental contradictions, with the ever widening gap between the poverty of the masses and the increased profits of the biggest corporations.

"The New Deal betrays the fact that it has no policy", say the bewildered authors who cannot seem to reconcile words and deeds, because they cannot follow the devious path of the New Deal along the course of the crisis. If consistent war construction, inflation, driving down living standards and raising profits, increasing the power of the trusts, stimulating company unions, whittling away the democratic rights of the workers, speeding the development of fascism, is no policy, then American capitalism never had one. It is one thing to pursue a policy and another thing to announce it so that even he who is looking for "economic consequences" can see it.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECENT *INTERNATIONAL* BOOKS

Marxism-Leninism

ANTI-DUEHRING *(Herr Eugen Duehring's Revolution in Science)*—*by* **Frederick Engels**
The Marxist world-system expounded by one of its originators $1.90

SELECTED WORKS, Volume I: The Prerequisites of the First Russian Revolution—*by* **V. I. Lenin**
Basic writings on the democratic revolution, the development of capitalism and the agrarian question $2.00

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION—*by* **N. Popov**
The only history of Bolshevism from the foundation of the party to the present period. 2 volumes, each $2.00

LENINISM, Volume I—*by* **Joseph Stalin**
New edition $1.90

SOCIALISM VICTORIOUS—*by* **Joseph Stalin and Others**
The historic 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U.—leading reports, discussion, personnel of leading party organs $1.75

●

General

I LOVE—*by* **A. Avdeyenko**—*An autobiography*
Socialism transforms a homeless waif into an engineer of socialist construction $1.00

MEMOIRS OF A BARBER—*by* **Giovanni Germanetto**
Chronicles of an Italian revolutionist and his generation $1.25

CHAPAYEV—*by* **Dimitri Furmanov**
The epic of the Red Commander which inspired the film $1.50

MEN OF SIBERIA—*by* **Hugo Huppert**
Reportage of socialist construction $1.00

THOSE WHO BUILT STALINGRAD—*by Themselves*
Introduction by Gorky. Drawings by Ellis $1.00

●

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW PAMPHLETS ON CURRENT QUESTIONS

●

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE—The Burning Issue of the Day—*By Earl Browder* ..... .03

THE TRUTH ABOUT FATHER COUGHLIN—*By A. B. Magil* ..... .05

WHY HEARST LIES ABOUT COMMUNISM—*By William F. Dunne* ..... .05

MARXISM VERSUS LIBERALISM—The Stalin-Wells Interview ..... .02

THE REDS IN DIXIE—Who Are the Communists and What Do They Fight For in the South?—*By Tom Johnson* ..... .05

WHY FASCISM LEADS TO WAR—*By John Strachey* .05

NATIONAL DEFENSE FOR WHOM?—*By Harold Ward* ..... .05

REVOLT IN THE RAILROAD UNIONS ..... .05

THE VETERANS FIGHT FOR UNITY—*By H. E. Briggs* ..... .05

AN AMERICAN FARMER VISITS THE SOVIET UNION—*By Julius Walstad* ..... .05

STUDENTS FIGHT WAR ..... .05

NEW PIONEER STORY BOOK ..... .25

●

Low-Priced Reprints

THE HISTORY OF MAY DAY—*By Alexander Trachtenberg* ..... .03

STATE AND REVOLUTION—*By V. I. Lenin* ..... .10

A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKERS—*By V. I. Lenin* ..... .03

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO—*By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels* ..... .05

●

Order from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York City

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED